Mr. Hunt's

POSTSCRIPT

FOR

Rectifying ſome MISTAKES in ſome of the Inferiour CLERGY, Miſchievous to our GOVERNMENT and RELIGION.

With Two Diſcourſes about the

SUCCESSION,

And Bill of EXCLUSION.

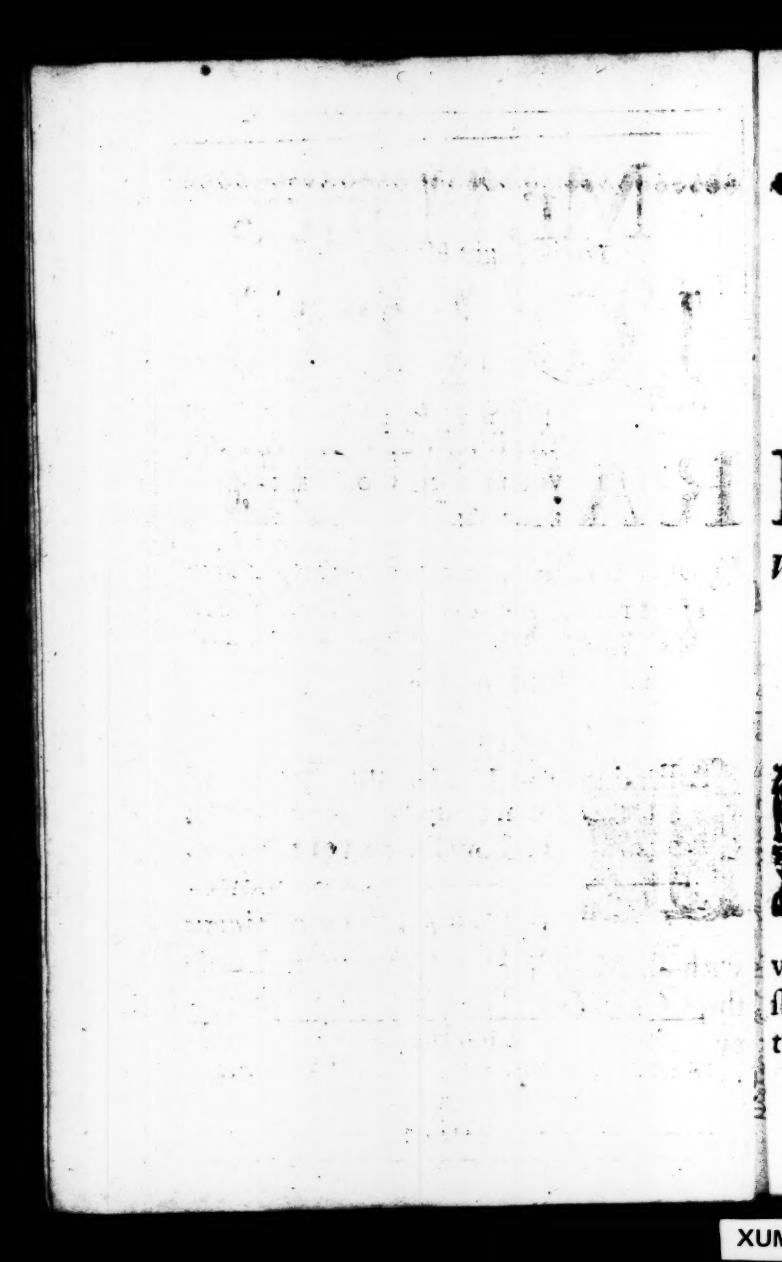
In Anſwer to Two Books

Affirming the Unalterable Right of SUCCESSION, and the Unlawfulneſs of the Bill of EXCLUSION.

In turbas & diſcordias peſſimo cuique plurima vis; pax & quies bonis artibus indigent. Tacit. Hiſt. l. 4.

LONDON:

Printed for the Author, and are to be ſold by the Bookſellers of *London* and *Weſtminſter*. 1682.



322
H91b
Rare Book Room

To the Right Honourable,

JOHN,

EARL OF

RADNOR,

Viſcount Bodmin, *Lord* Roberts, *Baron of* Truro, *And Lord Preſident of His Majeſties moſt Honorable Privy-Council.*

My Lord,

THE Reaſon that moved me to inſcribe theſe following Diſcourſes to your Name, is to create a prejudice, and beſpeak a good eſteem with all Mankind to whom your Lordſhips Character is arrived, of my Integrity and Sincerity therein. Your Lordſhips

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ſhips free and open Acknowledgment of your ſelf to the World, That you have liv'd your inward Nature, That you never diſſembled or diſguiſed your ſelf, avowed plainneſs, and deſpiſed all Arts, Intrigues, and Applications, hath made your Lordſhip Univerſally Honoured every where, and by all ſorts and parties of men entirely truſted; and you are become an Illuſtrious inſtance, That nothing is ſo popular in a Noble Perſon, as Simplicity and open Sincerity; no, not Bounty and Beneficence it ſelf, to which Office likewiſe your Lordſhip is not indebted, or in any arrear. A great Moraliſt preſcribes and commends to all Men that would hold on an uninterrupted Courſe of Virtue, and preſerve their Innocence, to put on ἀμυσκολίαν as a Defenſative and Out-guard to Virtue; That is to ſay, a ſtiffneſs and inflexibleneſs of Mind, ſomething that can reſiſt thoſe ſoft and gentle prejudices, that perſwade undue compliances, and abuſe the

the facile, weak, and tender Minds, to accommodate themſelves in little Matters to the preſent occaſions, until by little and little, ſincerity is almoſt quite periſhed from the World, and miſchiefs apt to deſtroy it ready to follow in conſequence of ſuch unmanly compliance. Men to relieve themſelves from inward reproach, whilſt they contradict their inward ſenſe, have found out the ſpecious names of Civility, Submiſſion to our Superiours; Nay, have uſurpt the glorious name of the Virtue of Modeſty, (which is the Nobleſt and moſt ample Virtue, which gives Rules that are almoſt comprehenſive of our whole Duty; for to this Virtue we owe a greatneſs of Mind, and a reverence of our ſelves, as well as equability and Juſtice to others) to varniſh over Diſſimulation, Craft, Hypocriſie, Flattery, Treachery, Falſhood, and a deceitful Converſation: And are bold to reproach the ſevere Honeſt, with the Names of Moroſe, Diſloyal, and

Disobedient, to turn off from themselves the shame of their own prevarications and utter defections from publick Interest; which God knows men easily slide into insensibly, if they once suffer themselves for any regard whatsoever to be carried off from the Rule of Right; for they bring themselves under some kind of Necessities of complying with the Evils their first aberrations occasioned, by greater faults; which increase reciprocally at every turn, until they become desperate Out-laws, absolve themselves from all Duty they owe to their King and Countrey, abandon themselves to Chance, to live and subsist by untoward shifts and arts, which increase their first Guilts, and turn their Errors into unpardonable Crimes: having shipwreck'd their Consciences, they care not if the Government be wreck'd too, to which they have made themselves so very abnoxious.

This whilst men please others, they lose

loſe themſelves, and from Flattery it is eaſily proceeded to the moſt miſchievous Treacheries.

He that deſpiſeth his own way, ſhall dye, ſaith King *Solomon*. A man that accommodates himſelf to ſerve Occaſions, diſſembles himſelf, and appears other than he is; will ſoon extinguiſh his Conſcience, and dye to Virtue. He that doth not honour himſelf, will not regard men; and they that do not Reverence Men, will not fear God: *Qui non verentur homines, fallent Deos.*

The Arts of Complaiſance ſo much relyed upon at the Courts of Princes, hath extruded the Laws of Honeſty thence, where they are moſt neceſſary. This hath made the Condition of great Men very uncertain and fortuitous, infinitely ſubject to Chance and Hazard, the Thrones of Princes unſtable and tottering, and left the Peace and Security of Kingdoms ſcarce at any time undiſturbed with Fears & Jealouſies, evil ſurmiſes,

miſes, and contending Factions, upon Reaſons true and falſe, real and feigned cauſes. Every man almoſt is ſometimes complaining of the uneaſie condition that he himſelf concurs to make to himſelf, but is always in ſome ſort miſerable, by fearing from others whom he gives too much cauſe to fear from himſelf, and to miſtruſt him for his double dealing. But what other conſequence can they expect, that ever feign, and unceſſantly diſſemble, but not to be believed, not to be truſted, hated for their baſeneſs, and feared for that great Evil they would diſſemble. The greatneſs of the Evil deſigned, is juſtly meaſured by the coarſe and baſe Artifices they uſe to hide them: they are impudent to all the diſcerning and wiſe, whilſt they buſily ſet themſelves by mean and baſe Arts to abuſe the Fools and inconſiderate, the vain and the credulous; whom they have at the ſame time in the greateſt ſcorn, whilſt they have nothing to value themſelves upon, but that ſuch little men are deceived by them. But

But there is another ſort of men that deſign well for the Publick, whilſt they diſpenſe with the ſtrict Laws of Truth and Sincerity. But I cannot tell upon the whole matter, whether they are not more hurtful to themſelves, than profitable to the Common-wealth, by their well-deſign'd and honeſtly-directed compliances and diſſimulations. I mean, ſuch men as lend themſelves to the ſervice of the Publick; who are ſo kind as to disfigure themſelves, to take other ſhapes and appearances of what they are not: Who are content to neglect their Honour and Reputation of Sincerity, whilſt under a feigned aſſentation they hinder all the evil, and do all the good they can do, and the preſent ſtate of things will permit; and ſuffer the reſt with a great compaſſion for the Publick Weal. But ſuch mens Praiſe muſt come from God, their Honour will never be entire amongſt men; and after all the difficult and hazardous Services they can perform

form for their King and Countrey, their Honour will ſtill remain ſuſpected, doubtful and obſcure amongſt men, who muſt judge according to appearance. When we have been often abuſed by the faireſt pretenders to a regular and conſtant Virtue, we cannot eaſily truſt thoſe that have ſometime diſſembled and repreſt it.

My Lord,

It is a peculiar Felicity of your Lordſhip, that from a Generous and Honeſt Nature, and a Noble Mind, rather than from the inſtitution of Books (though your Learning is famouſly great) to which you ſeem made rather than inſtructed; your ſincerity is incorruptible, and ſtands in no need of that Artificial Defenſative and Out-work which is preſcribed by great Moraliſts, as neceſſary to weak Minds to ſecure their Virtue, eſpecially when Virtue it ſelf is out of Repute and diſgraced.

You have perſiſted conſtantly in one even Tenor of Life, have been Uniform,

Re-

Regular, and Conſiſtent with your ſelf. There may have been ſome complyance in appearance to your Lordſhip, but you never yet departed from your ſelf; nay, you have not ſo much as incur'd the ſuſpicion of ſo doing. No man makes any Queſtion about your Lordſhip, or what it is you deſign; it is no mans Enquiry, no mans doubt: You have been always the ſame, and are, as every man concludes, immutably ſo. You are not unhappy to paſs under Conjectures and various Opinions, there is no need of a Cryptique man to unriddle any intricacies in the courſe of your Life.

Votivâ pateat veluti deſcripta Tabellâ
Vita ſenis.

No falſe inſinuations can hurt your Name: No Service but what is juſt, will ever be impoſed upon you; no Myſteries of Iniquity will be committed to your Breaſt: no man will be offended at you, but he that hath reaſon to be diſpleaſed

pleaſed with himſelf, and takes himſelf in a ſort reproved by every honeſt man, as every man doth that condemns himſelf. You cannot be diſgraced by any Faction, but a real diſhonour will return upon thoſe that attempt it: Every honeſt man will be ſenſible, if you (being reckoned and eſteemed a publick good) are leſſened: And you cannot fail of Honour from the worſt of men, when in Honouring you they Honour themſelves, and honeſtate their deſigns.

My Lord,

You repreſent to us the Condition of the Nation not deſperate and incurable, whilſt you preſide in His Majeſties Councils: for no man can believe you would be an unconcerned Spectator of our Ruine, or the Preparations to it; or that you would contribute any thing thereto, by giving us a vain confidence of a ſecure condition, and ſuffer your fam'd Integrity to be Suborned to ſo miſchievous a Deceit.

My

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip hath afforded a mighty recommendation of ſincerity and simplicity to the practice of the world; you have Honoured thereby the Age wherein you live, acquired true Honours to your ſelf, and are thereby become a publick Bleſſing. I hope I ſhall have your Lordſhips Pardon in making a further advantage of your Lordſhips Noble Integrity and Wiſdom, by preſuming to offer theſe Sheets to your Lordſhips favourable Judgment. That I adventure to appear to ſo great a Judgment, is the beſt Argument I can uſe to the World for my integrity and honeſt deſignment therein; and beſides, the good Opinion of ſo great a man as your ſelf, would give great aſſurance to my own Conſcience. If your Lordſhip doth think any thing therein uſeful to the World, I am ſure it will have your Lordſhips Countenance, which will make them more uſeful, ſince, as my Lord

Bacon

Bacon obſerves, *The Cauſe of Laws, and Defence of the ancient State, hath ever found this Priviledge, That ſuch as for their own Intereſt diſturb the ſame, Excuſe (if they Honour not) their Defenders.*

My Lord,

I ſhall ever pray for increaſe of Honour to your Lordſhip, and that full of years you may change this Life for a better; to which I am bound, for that I eſteem you a Publick Good, if I had no particular Obligations (as I have) to your Lordſhip; and for the greateſt Reaſon I take my ſelf Obliged to be in true Honour of your Lordſhip,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhips

Moſt Obedient Servant,

THO. HUNT.

THE PREFACE.

I Cannot but take notice, That my honeſt Deſign in my *Argument* and *Poſtſcript*, to ſerve the Church of *England*, and therein the Nation, hath been by many perverted: and how it hath been endeavoured to make them looſe that effect to which they were ſincerely directed. I have therein aſſerted the rightful Authority the Biſhops have in the Government, & repreſented the juſt Expectations the Nation hath of their due Exerciſe of that Authority for the publick good; and have endeavoured to remove the great prejudice againſt their

Order, especially those that are occasioned by the Mistakes of the Inferiour Clergy; for such we have taken notice of, as those which do most hurt, their esteem and affect them with the greatest dishonour and danger. I have therein faithfully defended the Authority and Power of the Bishops in the Government: But these I take to be but other Names for the *Duty* they owe to the Common-wealth. Civil Honours and Dignities declare respectively the trusts that the Government hath plac'd in the persons under such Characters, and admeasure the Duties and Offices that are expected from them. The present state of the Kingdom doth most importunately urge and require, that they should perform their duty in its fullest and utmost extent, and thereby vindicate the honour of their Order: It cannot fail being venerable, in the same degrees we find it beneficial. All positive Duties indeed have an indefinite latitude,

and

and we have a great liberty in the performing of them: They are not peccant againſt the rule of Virtue, who do not always exhibit to us the moſt Excellent Actions. It is not expected from the Duty that every man owes to his King and Countrey, that he ſhould ſerve them always to his utmoſt Capacity, and with an Heroical Bravery. But he that doth not lend all the aſſiſtance to their ſervice which his place requires, and his power can perform, in the greateſt Exigency, in the Extreameſt need, is a wretched Traytor, and Betrayer of his Countrey.

In the *Poſtſcript* I have by no means leſſened the Authority of the Church, or narrowed their Capacity of ſerving the Publick weal. But with great ſatisfaction conſidered their Authority, and how much they may contribute to the uniting our Diſtracted Nation, almoſt ruined by our Diviſions, which are occaſioned and promoted by the Enemies of our

Church, and principally designed for her Destruction. If we loose our Government, for the sake of her ruine, and in order to that we loose it; and which is worse, if we lose it, it must be by the instrumentality of her Clergy: if the Government be not preserved, the Church must perish.

Therefore I did not confine my thoughts to a Defence of the Church her Rights, but employ'd them for the Preservation of the Church her self, and did endeavour to remove some great Prejudices and Mistakes, that assist the designs of her Enemies upon her. Mistakes to which our Enemies owe all the power they have to hurt us; in virtue of these Mistakes, their malice is onely considerable; it could never have affected us, nor we brought within any danger or fear of them, if these vain Opinions had not been entertained by some of our Church-men.

And

And yet two Diſcourſes ſo agreeable in all the parts thereof one to another united in Deſign, and that could not poſſibly but concur to the thoughts of any man that truly and heartily deſign'd to ſerve to the proſperity of the Church and State, are endeavoured to be ſet at variance with themſelves; and ſome there are ſo falſe and unjuſt, as to ſuggeſt, That the *Argument* for the Biſhops Right, was written to ſet off the *Poſtſcipt* with ſome advantage; and that the Author deſign'd to gain from the *Argument*, a more pardonable liberty of inveighing againſt the Church-men in the *Poſtſcript*.

If this had been the conceit of men of the Popiſh Faction only (and not alſo of many Gentlemen whom I principally deſigned to ſerve, and in them the Church of *England*, thereby) I ſhould not have thought it worthy my notice. For every man underſtands it is their buſineſs and deſign to divide the Church-

 men

men from the Intereſt of the Church, to ſet the Church againſt her ſelf. To rob the ſheep of their ſhepherds, and the paſtors of their flocks. They know (and true it is) that no good and uſeful Conſtitution can ever be deſtroyed but by it ſelf; *i. e.* by ceaſing to be ſo: And that the people will never part from any thing wherein they find their benefit and advantage; except they can deprave our Church, they can never hope to deſtroy her. They have corrupted ſome of our Church-men with Principles that ſubvert our Government, and betray the Rights of our People. They have debauched the Manners of our Church-men, and leſſened their Authority and Eſteem with the people. The Order is enſlav'd by Collation of Preferments upon leſs worthy men. *Qui beneficium accepit libertatem vendidit.* They have raiſed a bitter zeal againſt that Separation, that they themſelves have contriv'd, fomented, and promoted.

And

And it is brought to paſs, that thoſe are accounted *Church-Fanaticks*, though *Conformiſts*, that cannot contentedly ſee and endure the near approaches of ruine both of Church and State: Theſe are their fear and their hate. The Sons of *Anak*, the Giants of the Land, that they they imagine ſo inſuperable, that they are for making themſelves a Captain and returning back into *Egypt*. Againſt theſe they exerciſe the keenneſs of their Wit; and to ſupply themſelves with matter of Raillery againſt them, they lick up the Vomit of the Popiſh Prieſts, and whatever is malitiouſly ſaid by them againſt the firſt Reformers, is daily repeated by our young Clerks out of the Pulpit, with advantages of immodeſty and indiſcretion, for the diſſervice and diſhonour of their Order: with the impudent Lies that the Papiſts have forg'd againſt *Luther*, *Beza*, and *Calvin*, and other renowned inſtruments in the Reformation, they diſparage the Reforma-

tion: of great ſervice this to the Church of *England*, and the Proteſtant Religion. Theſe young men, like Dotterels, Apes, and Parrots, who have no more underſtanding than thoſe Animals, are perpetually repeating any thing, though never ſo deſtructive to Church and State, that is ſuggeſted by any Popiſh Mercenary Writer, if he hath but the cunning to beſtow an idle Complement upon the Church, or calls Rogue and Villain ſeemingly or in pretence for their ſake; eſpecially, if he can furniſh to their young invention any Topicks of Raillery againſt an imaginary Presbytery, and againſt Parliaments, an eſſential part of our Government, and the ſecurity of our Liberty. A very fair capacity and recommendation this (as they imagine) to Preferment. Theſe are the Men, I confeſs, for whoſe ſake I writ the *Poſtſcript*. And if it can conduce any thing either to reform them from their Errors, or elſe to make them of no regard

gard with the People. That they be not hereafter taken to ſpeak the ſenſe of the Church of *England*, and we ty'd down to certain ruine by her pretended Authority. And eſpecially that ſhe may not hereafter ſuffer under the ſcandal of ſuch forward and precocious youths. I ſay, if I can obtain by my endeavours any of theſe effects in any degree, I reckon I have performed an agreeable ſervice to the King and Kingdom.

We have a ſort of young men, that have left nothing behind them in the Univerſity, but the taint of a bad example, and brought no more Learning with them thence, than what ſerves to make them more aſſured and more remarkable Coxcombs; who will undertake to diſcourſe continually of the Intereſt of Religion, of which they have no manner of ſenſe; and of the Conſtitution of our Government, of which they are utterly ignorant.

Theſe

Theſe take our degenerate Gentlemen to be the great Supporters of our Religion and Government, whoſe Loyalty conſiſts principally in Rounds of Brimmers and Huzzahs; who have not ſo much leiſure from their repeated Exceſſes and Debauches, as to conſider that they are not the wiſer for their Cups. In theſe Loyal Debauches too many of the young Clergy do moſt ſcandalouſly aſſiſt, for the ſervice of the Church, and for maintaining the honour of their Order. This, if the Superiour Clergy do not in time redreſs, they will betray our Religion, and ruine the Government both in Church and State. Theſe degenerate Levites are magnifying perpetually the Priviledges of their Tribe, extolling their Order, yet in terms that diſgrace it, but by their Lives they vilifie it. The moſt degenerate off-ſprings of Noble Families, are the greateſt Braggadocio's of their Diſcent: Thoſe boaſt moſt of their Anceſtors, who diſhonour them by their Relation. The

The Jews did not boaſt more of their Temple, the *Templum Domini*, the *Templum Domini*, at that time when they had filled up the meaſure of their iniquity, and the deſtruction both of their Temple and Nation was at the door, (their Temple had not one ſtone left upon another, and they carried into Captivity) than theſe Gentlemen do of the Church of *England*, when Popery is like to be let in upon her, by their wicked follies and indiſcretions: Popery, I ſay, which by ſome Doctrines undermines the very foundation, and by others unroofs the Edifice, and defaces the Walls of Chriſtian Faith, and leaves nothing thereof but Altar-ſtones for their Idolatrous Sacrifices: what ever the fates will be that they are pulling down upon the Nation.

The Apoſtolicalneſs of their Order will not ſecure it, if they do not fill up the duty of their Office, no more than the *Templum Domini* did priviledge the

Jewiſh

Jewiſh Church and Nation from deſtruction.

A Temple without a Numen, and an Undedicated Church, are things common and profane. They may remember there are Churches of Chriſt that do make a ſhift without their Order, and Religion need not periſh though the Order fail: but may ſubſiſt much eaſier than Nations under Change of Governments, which yet generally laſt longer than any one form. Nothing can ſubſiſt longer, or at leaſt to any good purpoſe, than it anſwers the ends of its Inſtitution, and if it do not, it is much better that it ſhould not continue than that it ſhould ſubſiſt.

Grotius in his Book *De Jure Summarum Poteſtatum circa Sacra*, aſſigns theſe Reaſons for the Diſcontinuance of Epiſcopacy in ſome Churches, *viz. Longa atque inveterata jam plane Officii Epiſcopalis depravatio. Nomen & Eminentia Epiſcopalis eorum culpâ quibus obtigerat omnem ſui reverentiam perdiderat, & in odium venerat*

venerat plebis. Non debent (ſaith he) *res bonæ damnari quia ſunt qui iis abutuntur, ſed verſo in morem abuſu intermitti res ipſas non eſt infrequens.* The young men of the Church of *England* have their Heads filled with the Imagination of a numerous Sect of Presbyterians amongſt us, and have form'd a frightful Idea and Character of this Imaginary Sect, as ſworn Enemies to the Epiſcopal Government. Whereas our old Puritans and late Diſſenters, (I ſpeak of the groſs of them, for they are not anſwerable for the Fools and Rogues ſent amongſt them, or at leaſt ſpirited by the Roman Prieſts, no more than any other Party or Diviſion of men are for the Rogues that paſs under their numbers or reſpective denominations) have not diſliked the Epiſcopal Government; though by their ſenſeleſs and unaccountable ſcruples, they have depriv'd themſelves of the benefit of the Communion of our Church, and thereby give ſo much ſcandal to the Government,

vernment, and make the Popiſh Plot conſiderable; which can no longer ſubſiſt, than they are pleaſed to continue obſtinate in their conceited follies.

They beg to be re-admitted, to have the terms of our Communion made eaſie, by relaxation of a Ceremony or two, and a few matters of Scruple: To be received again under the Governance and Guidance of our Church; and are ready to acknowledge the benefit of the Epiſcopal Order in the Church of Chriſt. Let this be askt by any man, who doubts the truth thereof, of any man that is conſiderable amongſt our unhappy Diſſenters. Dr. *Durel* in his Book called *Vindiciæ Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ*, tells what a high opinion the Reformed Churches abroad have of our Engliſh Epiſcopacy; and that the Biſhops were depoſed by them, becauſe they would not aſſiſt, but oppos'd, the Reformation, not of diſlike to their Order. Mr. *Calvin* in his *Opuſc. de Neceſſitate Reformandæ Eccleſiæ*, hath declared

clared himſelf to be of the ſame mind; *Talem* (ſaith he there) *nobis Hierarchiam exhibeant in quâ ſic emineant Epiſcopi, ut Chriſto ſubeſſe non recuſent; ut ab illo tanquam vinco capite pendeant, & ad ipſum referantur, in quâ ſic inter ſe fraternam Societatem colant, ut non alio modo quam ejus veritati ſint colligati. Tum vero, nullo non anathemate dignos fatear, ſi quis erunt, quos non eam revereantur, ſummâque obedientiâ obſervent.* His very good liking and great approbation of the Order, appears plainly by the earneſtneſs and vehemency of his ſtile, whereby he expreſſeth himſelf in the matter. *Beza de Miniſt. Evangel. Gradibus, Cap.* 23. affirms *Eſſentiale fuit, quod ex Dei ordinatione perpetua, neceſſe fuit eſt & erit, ut Presbyterio quiſpiam & loco & dignitate primus Actioni Gubernandæ præſit cum eo, quod ipſi divinitus attributum eſt, jure.* Peter de Moulin, Part. 2. Theſ. 33. *Epiſcopos Angliæ, inquit, poſt converſionem ad fidem, & Ejura-*

tum

tum Papismum asserrimus fuisse fideles Dei Servos, ne debuisse deserere munus vel Titulum Episcopi. *Monsieur* Drelincourt in his Letters from *Geneva*, upon the happy Restoration of our King, 1660, saith, *Quandoquidem Germania & Helvetia suos habent inspectores & superintendentes, Dania vero ac Suecia suos Episcopos, non video cur quis offendi debeat quod Angliæ sui etiam sint Episcopi. Quod si eadem Regminis forma apud hujus Regni Ecclesias non obtineat, id ideo fit, quod non convenit cum rerum nostrarum statu, cui nihil aptius excogitari potest quam pastorum æqualitas: verum si Deus, apud quem omnia possibilia, & in cujus manu sunt Corda Regum, ac populorum Monarchæ nostro, & omnibus illius subditis, aut saltem maximæ eorum parti eam gratiam indulgerent ut reformationem Evangelicam amplecterentur, meo quidem judicio, impossibile esset inter tantum pastorum numerum æqualitatem retinere, compelleretque necessitas ad instituendos quosdam qui aliqua*

qua præeminentiâ ganderent præ cæteris, quique eorum moribus invigilarent. The great men of the French Proteſtant Church, though under the ſtate of a ſevere Perſecution, who follow the Inſtitutions of Mr. *Calvin*, do at this time applaud the Conſtitution of our Church, and ſpeak of it in terms of high eſteem and honour, as may be ſeen in the Letters of Monſieur *Moyne*, Monſieur *de l'Angle*, and Monſieur *Claude*, written to my Lord of *London*, Publiſhed by the Dean of *Pauls*, in his Book called the *Unreaſonableneſs of Separation.* Dr. *Durel*, after he hath in the aforementioned Book, ſhewed that *Geneva* was a Free City of the Empire, of moſt ancient time; That the Soveraign Authority was in the Senate of that City: That the Biſhop was Choſen by the Canons and Citizens, and Swore Allegiance to the Government before he entred the City; and that the Conſuls of the City did take his Oath. That *Petrus de*

Baulme, their laſt Biſhop, *Anno Dom.* 1533. being detected of a deſign to betray the City to the Duke of *Savoy*, fled from the City; and at that time the City was, and for two years after continued, Roman Catholick; ſo that what wrong (if any was done to the Biſhop) was done by the Papiſts. That two years after the Biſhop fled from the puniſhment of his Crimes, the Authority of the Senate attempted the Reformation of Religion. After this, I ſay, Dr. *Durel* thus concludes, *Confidenter dicam Genevenſes cum Religionem emendarunt, Epiſcopalis regiminis ab Eccleſiâ Eliminationem, reformationis partem neceſſariam haud duxiſſe.*

Beſides, all amongſt us that have the name of Presbyterian called upon them at the pleaſure of the Popiſh Faction, ſubſcribe to the Nine and Thirty Articles, in what they declare of the Doctrine of the Church of *England* about Obedience to our King and Governours,

and

and are therefore in profeſſion as Loyal as any of thoſe that boaſt themſelves True Sons of the Church of *England.*

Indeed *Scotland* hath been diſgrac'd by a vile ſort of Presbyterians, the onely true Presbyterian Sectaries in the world, in any conſiderable body or union. Theſe men have deſervedly put that name under eternal infamy, by their turbulent and contumacious carriage againſt the Kingly Authority.

But to ſpeak the truth, this is not imputable ſo much to Presbytery, as to the barbarous Manners and rough Genius of that Nation. Though it hath afforded ſome men in all Ages of great Excellency in all ſorts of the moſt commendable Qualities. That Nation was infamous for Diſloyalty, and a barbarous Treatment of their Kings, before *Buchanan* and *Knox* were born. The *Scots* boaſt of One hundred and fifty Kings in Succeſſion in that Kingdom: how many Names they have feigned to make out

the boaſt of the Auncientry of their Kingdom, we do not know; but certain it is, they really Impriſoned, Depoſed, and Murdered Fifty of their Kings at leaſt, before the time of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, whoſe proſecution was promoted and aſſiſted by the Engliſh Biſhops. A fine Kingdom that, to make Experiments and try Concluſions upon!

There is little reaſon to charge the Guilt of the unexpiable Murder of our late Excellent King, for which at this day we are doing moſt ſevere penances, upon Presbytery, which was not thought of here in *England* till the War was begun. The heats that produced that unhappy War, were from other Cauſes and Reaſons, as every body may know. But when that War was once begun, (as no War can be managed by fore-eſtabliſhed Rules and Meaſures) it did not ſtand within the reaſons and firſt deſigns thereof, but was proſecuted and managed by ſuch means and meaſures as

were

were neceſſary and poſſible. This will always happen more eſpecially in a Civil War, wherein though both parties ſhare in the Cauſes, yet the Guilt to be ſure belongs to the Rebels ſide.

The Parliament in the Courſe of the War, in their diſtreſs, prayed Aid of the *Scotch* Nation, who was ſhortly before entered into the Covenant. They refuſed them any Aſſiſtance, except they would enter into that Covenant which they had paſſed upon their own people. By this accident that part of the Nation that was engaged in that unnatural War, of the Parliaments ſide, were impoſed upon by the *Scotch* Presbytery. But after the *Covenant* was thus impoſed, they ſtill retained the *Engliſh* Loyalty, filled the Town with Proteſtations and Remonſtrances againſt the Kings feared Murther; declared out of their Pulpits againſt the Actors of that deteſtable Tragedy; were continually contriving to reſtore our preſent King

to the Government of his Kingdoms; and of their inſtrumentality in his Reſtoration, the King himſelf is very ſenſible.

I wiſh the Church too were made ſenſible of the extinction of that prejudice the Scotch Covenant created againſt her; for though God be thanked ſhe hath ſurvived almoſt all of thoſe deluded Covenanters, yet the apprehenſion of the danger, or the remembrance of the evil, at leaſt, will return with the mention of that name, and render it very diſpleaſing. I wiſh, I ſay, that prejudice was removed by their frank Declaration of their good liking of her Order in general; and by their humble deſires to be ſpared in the matters whereof they yet remain in doubt, by the indulgence of the Church: That we may not incur the danger of looſing our Religion and Government, by the ſcandal that is given to the Church-men at the old remembrance of what hath been done here by ſome that were of the Presbyterian Name.

For

For this matter of Offence they of the Popiſh Faction do with mighty advantage to their Villainous deſign cultivate and improve. They ſtigmatize all that oppoſe the Popiſh Plot, with the Name of Presbyterians, and thereby would denote them Enemies of our Church-Order.

By this means they have brought many, too many Eminent men of our Church to at leaſt a dead Neutrality, as if things were come to this paſs, that they muſt periſh either by that or the Popiſh Faction, and had nothing left them to do, but to chuſe which way our Church ſhall be deſtroyed: A cold comfort this would be, that whatever way they ſhould take, they muſt aſſiſt to the deſtruction of their Order.

Upon this rock we are like to be ſplit, this makes our deliverance to ſtick in the birth, and upon this hinge the fate of our Religion and Nation will turn. Lord, what a prodigious thing is this, that

is come to paſs in our age. *Religion it ſelf muſt be the devoted thing to the rage and folly of the Prieſts of that Religion.* Let them in the Name of God conſider what iniquity it is to declame againſt the faults of others, and not endure to hear of their own Crimes: To hate one-another for thoſe very proceedings that their own faults occaſion: where the fault is in both ſides, the fault is in neither, ſo as they may juſtly accuſe one another: and yet they will both fall under a moſt ſevere Condemnation, to be ſure, in the next world, if they do not both miſs their aims, and be confounded with guilt and diſappointment in this.

I wiſh it were conſidered, that ſcarce any Nation ever yet periſhed, that was ſo blinded in her own concerns, that ſhe had not diſcerning men enough to have preſerved her from the deſtroying Evil, if many good and wiſe men did not perſwade themſelves, it was better to ſuffer it than to endeavour to prevent it:

it: and from the fears of one Party, and the diſlike they have conceived againſt the other, determine with themſelves to ſtand Neuters, whilſt they want Reſolution to oppoſe the dangers that one ſide threatens, and think the diſorders of the diſcontents incorrigible.

It was a wiſe Law of *Solon*, *That if the Common-wealth at any time ſhould be divided into Factions, that the Neuters ſhould be noted with infamy*; by which every man was obliged to take a ſide or Party; and all the virtuous, peaceable, and modeſt, were engaged to appear openly in the concernments of the Government: he concluded aſſuredly, that by this means Peace would be more eaſily reſtored, and terms of an accommodation more readily invented and entertained; the Factious Knaves of both ſides turned out of Office, their Evil Deſigns diſappointed, and the ruine of the Nation by the Extremities of wicked men prevented.

For

For the worſt men are moſt forward in Factions, and the greateſt beautefeus moſt honoured by their reſpective contending Parties, before the wiſe and good interpoſe.

Ἐντὶ διχοστασίῃ καὶ ὁ πάγκακος ἔμμορε τιμῆς.

The Cauſes of the Differences would be better underſtood, be rendred clear and conſpicuous, when the honeſt men (ſuch as can have no intereſt but the publick good, whoſe Authority is more prevalent with the people than the cleareſt Reaſon) do declare them: and thoſe that are miſ-led and abuſed into Extreams, would then unite and conſpire againſt thoſe who gave the firſt occaſion to the Diviſions, and promote them. As did the Factions of the *Colonnois* and the *Urſins*, who having diſcovered that Pope *Alexander* the Sixth ſet them ſtill at diſcord and variance amongſt themſelves, ſo by their Calamities and Falls to encreaſe the ſtrength and power of his Son

Borgia,

Borgia, they fell to agreement among themſelves, and made head againſt him their common Enemy.

If all that are true Proteſtants, and true lovers of our Government, would declare themſelves on the behalf of our Religion and Government, in ſuch terms as befit honeſt men, and as the Exigency of our preſent ſtate ſhall require; we ſhall find the numbers of Addreſſers reduced to the Dukes Penſioners & Creatures. The number of Phanaticks made ſo few, that the Papiſts would again become the Fautors and Defenders of Fanaticiſm, as they were about ten years ſince, leſt the numbers of Fanaticks ſhould not be big enough to make a Scare-crow for the Church of *England*, or the Schiſm not conſiderable enough to diſgrace her.

All diſcerning men ſee, that the late Addreſſes have been obtain'd by application: That the deſign therein was to make Voices for the diſcontinuance of Par-

Parliaments, and for a Popiſh Succeſſion.

If the people are pleaſed with theſe things, there is no wrong done them; and if we affect a change of our Religion and Government, it may be eaſily obtain'd.

The King hath no reaſon to conſent to diſinherit his Brother, if the People rejoyce in the hopes of ſuch a Succeſſor, or at leaſt will acquieſce under that fate: but if we would avoid it, we muſt deprecate it in ſuch applications to his Majeſty, as conſiſts with true Loyalty, and with ſuch earneſtneſs as the matter requires; and at the ſame time repreſent the ſmalneſs of the numbers of Addreſſers, and the inconſiderableneſs of their quality. Thus his Majeſty would underſtand better the Senſe of his People, eſpecially when moſt of the Addreſſers themſelves ſhall, by joyning in ſuch Applications, ſhew what they meant by *Lawful Succeſſors* in their Addreſſes: And

And that when in the ſame Addreſſes they did engage to ſerve the King with their Lives and Fortunes, they did not intend to ſubject themſelves and all that they have, to his Majeſties abſolute pleaſure. In that they thank his Majeſty for his Promiſe of frequent Parliaments, they deſire them; and when they thanked him for his promiſe to maintain the Proteſtant Religion, they deſired the continuance of it, and ſuch a Law as is abſolutely neceſſary for its preſervation. Then it may appear that the Abhorrers themſelves did not underſtand that the name of the Earl of *Shaftsbury* in the buſineſs of Abhorrence, is but like the name of *John a Styles* and *John an Oaks*, of *Titius* and *Sempronius*, in putting a fictitious Caſe: And that the onely Queſtion askt, was, *Who are the moſt damnable Plotters at this time, the Proteſtants or Papiſts?* And that this was the Queſtion intended to be put to the People in the Sollicitation of *Addreſſes of Abhorrence*, is evident. If

If we did dutifully repreſent to his Majeſty theſe Proceedings, as the Arts of our Enemies for dividing us, and the Methods of our deſigned Ruine, we ſhould not be undone; and there is nothing more than this neceſſary for the preventing of our Ruine, ſince we have ſo gracious a King.

Our King is duly ſtiled, *Pater Patriæ*; he will not ſuffer his People to be calamitous (as no good Prince can ſuffer his to be) from any cauſe whatſoever that is to be removed; no, not from their own Fears and Jealouſies, if they are innocent, reaſonable, and probable. The Affections of a Prince to his People, ſuperſede his Affection towards any private Relation: So ſtrong is the Tye of Duty upon him, from his Office, to prevent publick Calamities, as no reſpect whatſoever, no not of the *Right Line*, can diſcharge; nor will he himſelf ever think, if duly addreſſed, that it can.

By the Kingly Office, he is taken up from

from amongſt men, and is made a God to us; he is not to ſuffer the paſſions of a private man, ſo as to be ſwayed by them. In this high capacity. In the matters of the Government, nothing ought to determine him, but the Common weal, to which purpoſe all Governments are inſtituted.

Beſides, the excellent humanity of our King, which hath made his Reign ſo clement, doth diſpoſe him to a tender Affection towards his People committed to his care, and muſt powerfully incline and perſwade him to do any thing that is neceſſary for preventing ſuch Evils; which as they are greater than can be ſupported by his People, ſo if they come upon us, we ſhall never be able to emerge or recover from under their preſſures.

There wants nothing but a univerſal deſire of being happy, to make us ſo; and nothing but a declaring our ſteady abhorrence of the Evils we cannot ſuſtain,

ſtain, is further neceſſary for preventing them: Our Enemies will be deſtroyed meerly by our uniting; they have no direct Strengths of their own, all their hopes and confidence is in our Diviſions.

We may evacuate their deſigne, by making it impoſſible, without a Conflict with any of the Evils fear'd: We ſhall have no Enemies from that time we are at peace with our ſelves; if we have courage enough to ſay we are not content to periſh, we are immediately ſafe. Our Traytors would diſappear, if we had no Neuters; and we cannot loſe either our Religion or Government, if we have a juſt concern for them. If the Proteſtants would in time underſtand that the ſingle Art and Stratagem they have to undo us, is by dividing us, we ſhould not aſſiſt it by receiving falſe and hated Characters of the ſeveral Sects that are amongſt us from the Popiſh Writers; and repreſent them to our

ſelves

ſelves as more deteſtable than the Popiſh Traytors, and alike Enemies to the Government. It is no more agreeable to a ſcrupulous man about a Ceremony of the Church, to depoſe and murder his lawful Prince, than to a man of a nice Conſcience to be impiouſly wicked. Too true it is, all Nations and Religions have been ſometime or other ſtain'd with the horrid guilts of Depoſing and Murdering Kings, under a pretence of deſtroying Tyrants, and vindicating their Country from Oppreſſion. The Biſhops concur'd with the Temporal Lords in depoſing the ſecond *Richard:* In an Addreſs to that King they juſtifi'd themſelves therein, *Ex Antiquo Statuto*, from the Conſtitutions of the Kingdom; and *Ex facto nuperrimè dolendo*, by which they meant the depoſing of *Edward* the Second. *Knighton*, one of the *Decem Scriptores* publiſhed by Mr. *Selden*, gives us the Addreſs *in terminis*. Until the Collectors of Diſſenters Sayings can

juſtifie the Biſhops in this matter, let them not trouble the world any more with the farrago of ſome of their wicked Sayings, thereof to make a Character of a Diſſenter: for it belongs no more to him, as ſuch, to be a Traytor or Rebel, than it doth to the Character of the Engliſh Biſhops to depoſe their King, and cauſe his moſt Sacred Bloud to be ſhed and profan'd as a common thing.

But for removing the fears that our cautious Church-men have of Diſſenters, which hath caſt them into a cold indifferency and inert neutrality at this time, when if ever the Applications of an active Prudence are required from all honeſt men, and lovers of their King, Country, and Religion, I wiſh they would weigh and conſider the miſchiefs on either hand: What the Popiſh Party deſignes, and what the Diſſenters would have: What powers the Popiſh Party have, what endeavours they uſe to force their Superſtitions upon us, and to change

change our Government: That the Diſſenters have neither Power nor Will to deſtroy our Religion or Government: They are already of our Church, and it is expected that they ſhould be Petitioners to the Biſhops for their interceſſion towards obtaining ſome Indulgence in ſome little matters, that may bring them into an entire Communion with us. It may eaſily be known who are for the preſervation of our Government, or diſſolution of it, by their Deſires or Abhorrences of Parliaments; (and who deſires Parliaments more than Diſſenters?) which would preſerve our ancient Government in Church and State, and the true Religion eſtabliſh'd among us, and recover us into a firm Peace and Union, by juſt and neceſſary proviſions for their ſupport. Whilſt the Government is preſerved, the Church is ſafe and ſecure: for no man can fear that the King and the States of the Realm will ever give place to wild Fanaticiſm, and

ſuffer ſo excellent an Eccleſiaſtical conſtitution as we enjoy, to be ſubverted, for any Extravagancies that ſhall deſerve the name of Fanaticiſm. But the pretences of our Neuters for their Neutrality, are not more groundleſs than their reaſonings are abſurd, by which they oppoſe the only remedies to the Evils that now beſet us, and the greater we fear.

That abſurd Opinion, *Dominium fundatur in gratiâ*, is charg'd upon thoſe that are for the Excluſion of the Duke; and they think by pronouncing this piece of abſurd Latine, they have at once put to ſilence and ſhame all the reaſons of Nature, Religion, and State, that urge it and require it.

That there is nothing can be more abſurd than that *Dogma*, will appear, for that almoſt whole Dutch Syſtems of falſe and paltry Theology go to the making of it, in the moſt tolerable ſenſe it can have; and for that it hath been

im-

improv'd into a moſt villainous ſenſe, to give countenance to the vileſt Outrages of the *German* Anabaptiſts.

But *Dominium* ſignify'd Property, not Government and Rule, until our admirably accompliſhed young Divines of this laſt Age, out of their great skill in the Latine Tongue, would have it ſo, for the ſervice of the great Defender of the Proteſtant Religion, and of the Church of *England*.

All Rights, as well Natural as Civil, are forfeitable by Crimes, in ſuch meaſure and degree as Laws appoint, and as good Government requires: Notwithſtanding *Grace* be not admitted a good Title to any thing that the Saint will deſire, though of the *Roman* ſtamp.

I confeſs, Natural Rights, (but they are very few) are not controlable by Laws, but are by Laws to be defended, and the free uſe of them to be juſtifyed and allowed, moſt certainly not to be condemned by any Civil Authority.

A right in Nature every man hath to live, until he hath forfeited his Life. Whatever he doth that is neceſſary for his preſervation, is and ought to be juſtifyed by all Laws, though he kills, though he breaks the Civil Incloſure of Property; which cannot, and was never intended to ſhut out the Natural Right that every man hath in the laſt extreamities. Every man hath a right to his plank in a Wreck, though the owner of the Ship periſh by him for want of it.

All the Authority of all the Legiſlators in the world united, cannot make unlawful any Act that is done in ſelf-preſervation: *Sub moderamine inculpatæ tutelæ*, where the man is innocent.

But Civil Rights are without iniquity alterable and controleable by Laws, and by acts of Government ordainable to the publick good.

Nothing is ſo intirely, perfectly, and abſtractly Civil, as Government, the perfect Creature of men in ſociety, made by

by pact and conſent, and not otherwiſe; moſt certainly not otherwiſe: and therefore moſt certainly ordainable by the whole Community, for the ſafety and preſervation of the whole, to which it is in the reaſon and nature of it intirely deſign'd.

But we are told by ſome, that will not conteſt the lawfulneſs of *Excluſion*, That we trouble our ſelves with the fears of an imaginary danger: That we are endeavouring a remedy againſt the Evil that may never happen: That we impertinently trouble our ſelves about providing that which we may never want or need: That the Duke may dye before the King: And if the Duke ſhould ſurvive, he neither can nor will change our Religion: That it is not lawful for any man, *Occupare facinus quod timet*, and to deſtroy the perſon whom he fears.

I wiſh it were conſidered on the other ſide, That if the Duke dye before the King, there is no wrong done to the

Duke by Excluding him. It is onely his hopes and expectations that are cut off, for the preventing our fears; a poſſibility of hurt provided againſt, by ſhutting out the poſſibility of effecting it; and that not by any hurt to his Perſon, but meerly by diſabling it: a Remedy proportioned and ſuited to the diſeaſe: we deſire to be eaſed of our fears, by a juſt ſecurity againſt them. But if the Duke ſhould certainly ſurvive the King, and could and would change our Religion, they who thus diſcourſe, ſeem to allow it lawful to exclude him. But for that they ſay the Duke, if King, will not or cannot change our Religion: let every man conſider his preſent Will and Power, and how far he hath proceeded towards it, before he is entred into his Kingdom. Theſe ſilly dreamers diſhonour him, whilſt they pretend to ſerve him. His Princely Virtues make him the more dreadful to a Proteſtant Kingdom. They who thus talk, make him

a bad man of that bad Religion, weak in his conduct, and feeble in his power: But how can this be, when they have inſtructed the Nation into abſolute obedience, and have meaſured the duty of obedience by the Kings pleaſure, and not by Laws: That the pleaſure of a King is irreſiſtable; ſome of them will not allow paſſive obedience to be at all obedience?

Beſides, all caution is proportioned to the greatneſs of the Evils feared. No wiſe man ever left the ſum of his Affairs to Chance. Where the Evils are not to be remedied or reſiſted when they happen, the caution is juſt that prevents them. If there be no remedy againſt the Evil we fear, but the Excluſion, the Excluſion is not onely lawful, but commendable. And for this we have the Authority of the Illuſtrious *Grotius*, under his general Doctrine and determination, *Lib.*2. *Cap.* 1. *De Jure belli ac pacis.*

It

It is Engraven in Capital Letters upon the Foundation-Stones of all the Governments in the world, That any perſon unfit for Government, ſhall be Excluded from Governing. Though Fools cannot read it until the foundations be removed, and the Government ſubverted. That his Royal Highneſs hath rendred himſelf unfit for the Government, hath been declared more than once, by the unanimous conſent of all the States of the Realm; and how far the King hath been of the ſame opinion, may be conjectured by thoſe Expedients that have been offered in ſeveral Parliaments, by Privy-Councellors and Miniſters of State, and the Dukes greateſt Friends. Onely ſuch were thoſe of the late Parliaments that oppoſed the Bill of Excluſion; but even theſe were for ſequeſtring the Royal and Soveraign Powers and Authorities during the Life of a Popiſh Succeſſor, and to leave him content with the Name of a King onely.

An

An Indignity this both to the Name and Office: a thing repugnant to the Fundamental Conſtitutions: This tends to deſtroy the Monarchy it ſelf: It points directly to the Evils of the late times, and would make the Parliament Sequeſtrators of the Crown.

But ſuch abſurdities thoſe that appeared moſt his Friends would run us upon, rather than a Popiſh Prince ſhould become our King: Such an abhorrence they themſelves had againſt the miſchiefs that would thereupon enſue to the Nation.

Is it fit after this, that the lawful endeavours to Exclude him, ſhould be accounted a Proteſtant Plot; and thoſe that deſire it, for that reaſon onely, accounted Enemies to the Government, and Deſigners to change it? What madneſs is it, that his arrival amongſt us ſhould be welcomed with any tokens of joy! That Addreſſes ſhould be made in his favour! That we ſhould court that miſchief, that the

the wiſdom of all our Eſtates in ſeveral late Parliaments have conſulted how to avoid. To turn ſo fond of a Popiſh Succeſſor, as to be content to quit our Parliamentary Conſtitution, our Government, for his ſake: for his ſake we have had Parliaments Diſſolved, and his preſence will not give us leave to hope for a Parliament.

But let no honeſt man be affrighted and put out of Countenance with any Imputations or Reproaches of Sedition, whilſt he adheres to the Senſe of all the Eſtates in Parliament, and that which hath been in ſome ſort the Kings Senſe too.

They are the Seditious, that propound deceitful Expedients, which tend to change the Government, and to Embroil His Majeſties Kingdoms; who are contrary to the Senſe of the States of the Realm; oppoſe the voice of Nature, and the common Senſe of the whole Rational world: That are contrary to the Go-

Government, and do, as much as in them lies, go about to diſſolve it, by leſſening the Powers of Parliament, exerciſed and declar'd in their Acts; and more eſpecially in the Act of Parliament, 13 *Eliz. Cap.* 1. for that purpoſe was that declaratory Law made, to prevent our relapſe into Popery, and the return of the Popiſh Superſtition and the Roman yoak upon us.

Theſe therefore are the only Murmurers amongſt us againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron*, our Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Reformers, who brought us out of the Land of *Egypt*, and out of the houſe of Bondage, who though dead, yet ſpeak, and their Authority yet lives in our Laws, and is to be obey'd by us: we have no rules of Obedience to our Prince, but the Laws, and the Authoritative Declarations of the Government, which are called the Kings Laws, and the Kings Will and Pleaſure (whenſoever they were firſt made) in all ſucceſſion of time. Theſe Murmu-

rers

rers are ſaying one to another, Let us make a Captain, and let us return into *Egypt*; and yet they rub their foreheads and ſay, that they are clear of the gain-ſaying of *Korah* and *Dathan*, and are not of the company of *Abiram*. Though if they will conſider the ſtory, they will find themſelves in that company: for thoſe that were for a Captain to return into *Egypt*, *Numb. Cap.* 14. did continue their Murmurings, upon what enſued thereupon againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron*, headed by *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, *Numb. Cap.* 16. and both are remembred as one offence, *Pſalm* 106.

So miſerably do theſe men abuſe their Conſciences firſt, and then abuſe the Scripture to ſerve their turn. The unſtable more than the unlearned, wreſt the Scriptures, to their own deſtruction. Theſe men againſt all congruity and analogy, do object the ſtory of *Korah* and his Accomplices againſt the Adherers to *Moſes* and *Aaron*, and reproach them with

with the Names of thoſe Evil and unfortunate men, who do what they can to hinder our return into *Egypt*, and are not for this Captain of theirs.

Quis tulerit Graccos *de Seditione querentes?*

Theſe are the moſt dangerous Schiſmaticks, a moſt miſchievous ſort of Puritans. The malignity of Puritaniſm is, to pretend to be more righteous than Laws. Where no Divine Law interpoſeth, but the matters are left by God to the prudence of Governments, and to their appointments and directions: to pretend Religion for their Schiſmatical Separations: to diſobey their Governours, when they have no command of God againſt their injunctions, though they have no Law of God for the matter injoyn'd. But the Church-Puritans have ſome pretence for their Diſobedience, becauſe Religion is certainly of Divine Inſtitution in the Subſtance and Eſſentials thereof: they pretend they keep

cloſe

cloſe to the Divine Inſtitution, and they at the worſt do but prepoſterouſly prefer Sacrifice to Obedience. But this Civil Puritaniſm which we complain of, is neither Obedience to God or man, nor yet Sacrifice. Sacrifice it cannot be, where Religion it ſelf muſt be the Victim; not Obedience, but an enormous and monſtrous ſort of Diſobedience: they diſobey not to pleaſe themſelves, but for meer miſchief to themſelves; theſe are ſinners againſt their own Souls with a witneſs. By departing from the Rules of Government, they are about to betray Gods true Religion, and the Government; and they muſt become either Rebels or Slaves, either Apoſtates or Martyrs. But Martyrs if they be, it will be rather of their folly than of Religion, and God will take no pleaſure in the Sacrifice of Fools.

The wickedneſs and folly of theſe men, ſeems peculiar to this preſent age; it ſeems prepared by the Divine *Nemeſis*, to

to puniſh our prevarications from the rules and obligations of that Religion, which we have diſhonoured by our profeſſing to believe it ; that ſo it and we ſhould periſh and be extinct together ; that we ſhould then pretend to be conformable to the Inſtitutions of his Holy Religion , when we are in a courſe of utterly ſubverting it.

What impudent hypocriſie is this, to pretend to obey our Governours for Gods ſake , when they really are contrary to the Fundamental Conſtitutions of State , and by being ſo, aſſiſt to the Extirpation of Gods true Religion Eſtabliſht amongſt us by Law ! Laws cannot be controul'd by the Princes pleaſure; they oblige when his Perſonal Commands do not. Kings cannot make their Governments other than an univerſal conſent hath made them ; and ſuch we are obliged to continue them.

A man may neglect his own private right without fault,for in that he is onely

accountable to himself. But the Rights of the Government, the Rights of the Community can never be lessened or neglected in their use, when the condition of the Nation requires their Exercise.

Where we have a liberty or right to do an act, a supervenient necessity makes that act our duty. When the case occurs wherein that right is to be used, and for which that Authority was created, then they that have that right and that authority, are as much obliged to use it, as if there had been an express Law to injoyn them.

To be short, I wish the haters of Puritans would consider for themselves, as well as others, that there is an *obedience of Faith*, as well as of Manners, due both to God and our Governours. That our judgments are to be form'd by the rules of right Established by Law, as well as our actions to be governed in obedience to Laws commanding and enjoyning

ing them. By that Faith that every man owes to the Government, he is obliged to defend the Conſtitutions thereof: they are more properly Covenants than Laws, which yet *Ariſtotle* calls ſo; they are the *Communes Reipublicæ Sponſiones*. If we do not form our actions in agreeableneſs thereto, and comport with them in our judgments, we do not onely diſobey the Authority of Laws, but are alſo falſe Traytors to the Government, by violating our publick Faith.

And now, O ye people fooliſh and unwiſe, ye ſtupid and perverſe generation! will you ſtill perſevere to call that which is lawful, nay, neceſſary, nay, commendable and heroical, to which we are urged by neceſſity, to which we are obliged by the virtues of Religion to God, Loyalty to our King, the Faith that we owe to the Community, *A doing Evil that Good may come thereof?* Your own Condemnation muſt be juſt,

if you be detruded amongſt the number of ſtupid Sots, reckoned amongſt thoſe that have loſt their Reaſon, extinguiſhed their Faculties, ſuppreſſed their virtue, and have no other uſe of their Reaſon left them, but what is to betray them to greater Evils, as a juſt puniſhment for their former abuſing it. You perverſely and abſurdly miſ-apply words without ſenſe: To the purpoſe that you may give countenance to your impieties, your utter neglect of Gods true Religion, the ſafety of your Prince, and the publick peace, and become Traytors to God, your King and Countrey, without any ſenſe or remorſe.

I have but one Obſervation to make, and one word of my ſelf, and I ſhall conclude.

The Obſervation is this: Scarce any Government hath been inteſtinely deſtroyed, but its deſtruction was from it ſelf; which could never have hapned, if the great men had not been guilty of connivance

connivance at, and ſufferance of Evils that might have been timely prevented. And for that after the long continued ſtupidity of the upper and lower *vulgus*, which are moved by nothing but what they feel; they have grown impatient of the ſmart of thoſe Evils they could not, or would not foreſee. To this Hiſtories do give ample teſtimony, as they do alſo teſtifie, that Concuſſions in Governments, and Convulſions in State, proceed moſtly from Flatterers, incroachments of power, attempts upon the Government, and decay of Faith and Truſt in our Governours; and ſecondly, from Factious Demagogues. But theſe never appear, until the Flatterers and Projectors upon Government have firſt played their tricks: they wait as Owls for the twi-light, and Woodcocks for the winter; they are onely uſeful as revulſive remedies againſt the Evils of the other: but are without all manner of Grace, where the Govern-

ment

ment is uprightly and duely Administred. And thirdly, and principally, from the frailty of Humane Virtue. When some of better place, for the preservation of the Ancient Government, and Gods true Religion amongst us, will not endure to forego or loose some accommodations or advantages of life, which they may be well without, and perhaps do not deserve; how can it be expected that the generality of Mankind should suffer Martyrdoms in meer Loyalty, (that is) be contented to become miserable and and calamitous, and have no other payment for their miseries and Calamities they suffer, but that their Prince receives therein an imaginary pleasure, and a false satisfaction?

When all is said, men will never govern themselves by the Doctrine of the severe Casuists: But their virtue of Loyalty will bear the same proportion as their other virtues do to the Canon of Morality.

The

The beſt ſervice that can be done to any Government, is to keep it true to its own Conſtitution, good and tolerarable to the People.

To this all wiſe and good men ſhould in their ſeveral places apply themſelves with Heroical zeal, a buſie care, manly and firm reſolutions; and thereby prevent, if poſſible, thoſe Evils that Mankind will not endure and ſuſtain.

If all that were diſ-intereſted from any Faction, would interpoſe with wiſe applications to ſuch purpoſes, Governments would not be ſo eaſily diſſolv'd, and Nations rendred miſerable or ruin'd. If all that are illightned, and truly honeſt, would thus dutifully behave themſelves at all times to their King and Countrey, both Demagogues and Flatterers would ſoon be aſhamed, confounded and forſaken, both by Prince and People, and Governments be of everlaſting continuance.

But

But that no man may wonder at my boldneſs, and the freedom I have uſed in theſe Diſcourſes, I have only this true account to give of my ſelf.

That Loyalty and Religion, and the Proſperity and Peace of my Countrey, have therein entirely conducted my thoughts, and guided my hand. I have therein affirmed nothing but what is publickly known for truth, and which the Cauſe I defend requires to be ſaid. It is the Cauſe of our Government, Religion, and Nation, that I advocate: The Cauſe is pleaded in its proper Court, before God and the King, Angels and Men; no other *forum* can take Cognizance of the Cauſe. To this the Writers of the other ſide hath invited us by, appealing thereto with their Reaſons. I am free from any juſt imputation of malice and contumely againſt the perſon who is moſt concerned in the right diſputed: I have conſulted therein his true Intereſt, which cannot be divided from the Peace and Happineſs of Three Kingdoms. Juſtice her ſelf will acquit me from having done any thing amiſs; and I cannot ſuffer in the Cenſures of honeſt and reaſonable men. In theſe Conſiderations I am encircled as in a brazen wall, ſafe and ſecure; for as for the fears of Rage and Injuſtice, they ſhall never affect me.

Poſtſcript.

The POSTSCRIPT.

SIR,

I Now render you my hearty thanks for your free advice you gave me, concerning the publiſhing of the Argument for the Biſhops Right of Judging in Capital Cauſes in Parliament, and for aſſerting their civil Honours and Rights in the Government. Becauſe it hath given me an occaſion, both of vindicating the moſt of the Inferiour Clergy from thoſe Imputations which you have remembred to me, and are commonly diſcourſed to their diſadvantage, whereby they have loſt their Eſteem with the People; and alſo of rectifying the miſtakes of ſome (for their number is not great) who have given too much cauſe therein of publick complaints.

You diſſwade me from giving any aſſiſtance to the Rights of the preſent Biſhops, for that the Clergy out of whom the Biſhops muſt be made, have entertained Principles that are deſtructive to the Government. They affirm (you ſay) *That it is in the Power of a Prince, by Divine Right, to govern as he pleaſeth; that the power of the Laws is ſolely in him; that he may, if he pleaſe, uſe the conſent of Parliaments to aſſiſt the reaſon of*

his Laws, when he ſhall give any, but it is great condeſcention in Kings to give a reaſon for what they do, and a diminution to their moſt unaccountable Prerogative. You ſay, *That they are for a Popiſh Succeſſor and no Parliament, and do as much as in them lies, give up our Ancient Government and the Proteſtant Religion, the true Chriſtian Faith, to the abſolute will of a Popiſh Succeſſor, giving him a Divine Right to extirpate Gods true Religion eſtabliſhed amongſt us by Law, and to evacuate our Government by his abſolute pleaſure.*

Our Government by a King and Eſtates of Parliament, is as antient as any thing can be remembred of the Nation. The attempt of altering it in all Ages accounted Treaſon, and the puniſhment thereof reſerved to the Parliament by 25 *Edw.* 3. The conſervancy of the Government being not ſafely to be lodg'd any where, but with the Government it ſelf. Offences of this kind not pardonable by the King, becauſe it is not in his power to change it. This is our Government, and thus it is eſtabliſhed, and for Ages and immemorial time hath thus continued; a long Succeſſion of Kings have recognized it to be ſuch: And juſt now, when we are under the dread of a Popiſh Succeſſor, ſome of our Clergy are illuminated into a myſtery that hath been concealed from the beginning of Governments to this day, from the wiſdom of all Princes and Miniſters of State; *That any authority in the Government, not derived from the King,*

and

and that is not to yeild to his absolute Will, was rebellious, and against the Divine Right and Authority of Kings in the Establishment, against which no usuage or prescription to the contrary, or in abatement of it, is to be allowed. That all Rights are ambulatory, and depend for their continuance upon his pleasure. So that though the Reformation was made here by the Government established by Law, and hath acquired civil Rights not to be altered but by the King and the three Estates. These men yet speak (say you) *as if they envied the Rights of their own Religion, and had a mind to reduce the Church back again into a state and condition of being persecuted, and designed she should be stripped of her Legal Immunities and Defensatives, and brought back to the deplorable helpless condition of Prayers and Tears; do utterly abandon and neglect all the Provisions that God's providence hath made for her protection. Nay, by this their new Hypothesis, they put it by Divine Right into the power of a Popish Successor, when he pleaseth, at once, by a single indisputable and irresistable Edict, to destroy our Religion and Government.* And these opinions, you say, they are the more inclined to entertain, for *that they believe no Plot, but a Presbyterian Plot*; for, *of them they believe all ill, and call whom they please by that hated name, and boldly avow that Popery is more eligible than Presbytery; for by that they shall have greater Revenues, and more Authority and Rule over the Lay-men.*

This is a heavy Charge, if true; but it is imputable (I am ſure) but to a few, and not ſo generally, as ſome malevolent men of the Popiſh Faction are induſtriouſly buſie to have it. For if it were, I confeſs it might choque the conſtancy, Reſolution and Zeal of the moſt addicted to the ſervice of the Church-men, and make them at leaſt very indifferent in their Concerns. For theſe miſtakes are ſo groſs and inexcuſable, that they ought, if they could periſh by themſelves, to be permitted to ſuffer the ſmart of their own follies, and to be corrected by the evils they are drawing down upon themſelves, with their own hands. They deſerve to ſuffer as betrayers of their own Country: To be proſecuted with greater ſhame and ignominy, by all of the Reformed Religion, than the *Traditores* were by the Antient Chriſtians: Theſe their deſerting of the true Chriſtian Faith, being much leſs excuſable than their fault that deſerved that name, and of greater miſchief, as of deeper malignity.

How many of the Clergy-men are thus miſled we know not; but they ſeem many more than they are, becauſe they are moſt in view, and come often under obſervation, frequent publick houſes, and talk loud, becauſe they want the Complement of their Preferments.

But certainly, Sir, what you ſay to be the declared Opinions of ſome Clergy-men, is the buſineſs now of the Papiſts to propagate.

Hoc Ithacus velit, & magno mercantur Atridæ.

Theſe

These are agreeable to, and indeed make up the most modern Project and Scheme of the Popish Plot.

Since the discovery of their first Design of killing the King, and massacring of the Protestants, they have taken such courage, by observing how little power we have to prevent their Design, that they have us in scorn, and in the vilest contempt.

They now think that we are not worth destroying, but by our own hands; that we are not worthy of their trouble, or the charge of Executioners of their providing. How entertaining is it to his Holiness, to find the Church of *England*, the impregnable Bulwark of the Reformed Religion, easily fall into his hands, by the unprecedented folly of some of her Sons, without the trouble of attacking her either by Force or Argument, which have hitherto wanted success, and such attempts always attended with dishonour, and mischief to his See. How pleasant will it be to him to see us perish, and our destruction to be from our selves! With this he will answer all the irrefragable Apologies of the Church of *England* for her departure from the Communion of the Romish Church. Then he will say with triumph, our Church destroyed her self, and perished by a *Divine Fate*, for her unwarrantable and Sacrilegious Schism; for so he will call our *Follies*, and impute them to Divine infatuations. The

manner of our deſtruction will be a better Argument, and of more force againſt the Doctrine of the Reformation, than all the Arguments of all the Doctors of that Church to this day.

For this purpoſe, ſince the Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot, it is, that Sir *Robert Filmers* Books were Re-printed together, and recommended by the Title-page and the Publick Gazet to our reading. Since the Diſcovery of the Plot, we have had variety of Books Printed to the ſame purpoſe; *viz. To prove that all Kings, as Kings, are abſolute by Divine Right.* Since the Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot, we have had men imployed to ſearch all our antient Records and Hiſtories, to find out ſomething more antient than our Parliaments as now conſtituted, that it may ſerve as a pretence to take them away. Since the Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot, we have the memory of our late calamitous War revived, to raiſe a Panick fear of another, and to make the King believe that the genius of the Nation is Rebellious, and that the Proteſtant Religion it ſelf is to be apprehended by Kings.

It is difficult to tell how that late unhappy War began, or how it came to iſſue ſo Tragically in the Death of the late King; though we know how it ended; *viz.* The Nation recovered within twelve years after the moſt deplorable Death of that excellent King, into a renowned

nowned Loyalty; and in ſpight of a great Armed Power, never before foil'd, ever victorious, then kept on foot for the Intereſt of a very few men, reſtored our preſent King (may his Reign be long and happy) to the Government of his Kingdoms, without the leaſt aſſiſtance of any of the Cavalier-party, and oblig'd a wary General in the head of a factious and republican Army to Loyalty.

Nay, within that time alſo, the Nation had recovered out of their partial Lapſe into Fanaticiſm, bred up great numbers of excellent Scholars, who maſtered the prejudices of thoſe times, were reverenced by the chief of the Presbyterian party, and are the beauty and ſtrength of the Church of *England* at this time.

The Presbyterians themſelves were grown reconcileable to the Church of *England*, and had learnt by woful experience the miſchievouſneſs of Schiſm, upon no better pretences than what then might have been ſatisfied and accommodated.

When the King and Church were reſtored, Fanaticiſm had expired, if ſome old peeviſh and ſtiff Church-men had not ſtudied obſtacles againſt an univerſal Accommodation, and ſome crafty States-men had not projected that the continuance of the Schiſm would be of great ſervice ſome time or other, to deſtroy the Church of *England*, and change our ancient Government; which is now apparently the Po-

piſh Plot; and if ever it be affected, it will be with this trick of affrighting the Church of *England* with the apprehenſion of Fanaticiſm, and making them ſuſpicious of Parliaments. As many of them as are drawn into an opinion of the diſloyalty of our late Parliaments, the illuſions of the Popiſh Plot have paſſed upon them, and they are under the power of its faſcinations. But both the *Loyalty* of the late Parliaments, and alſo *how much it imports the Plotters to have it believed that they deſign upon the preſent Government, will at once be clearly* underſtood, if it be conſidered what hath been done for the forging of a Proteſtant Plot, (which was intended at the firſt opening to extend to the Houſe of Commons), Things ſo wicked, as would make a virtuous man aſhamed of the Age he lives in. But after all endeavours to find witneſſes for their purpoſe, powerful encouragements, and great rewards, they have drawn none into their aſſiſtance, but who are publickly known for Rogues, or who wanted Bread, or had no Reputation to looſe. If the falſhood of this forged Plot had not been utterly improbable, they might have procured better ſeeming, and more credible witneſſes. They might ſure have found in this Age men bad enough, not already infamous, to have teſtified a probable Lye. But ſo neceſſary it is to the Popiſh deſign, that a Proteſtant Plot be believed, that they are not diſcouraged at the manifeſt de-

detection of their Conſpiracies, Perjuries and Subornations; but will ſtill go on as if they had a power to work miracles of villany for their Religion, which is no better. Our modern Politicians have been moſt obſervant agreeably to their virtuous make, how frauds, perjuries and violence have proſpered and ſucceeded in ſome particular caſes, and have brought about ſome deſigns; they imagine ſuch means throughly multiplied, to be able to conquer all things which they deſign. But theſe Arts, which have had ſucceſs by the permiſſion of God, when one Villain hath been to deſtroy another, will not paſs upon the Proteſtant Religion. Let them ſeriouſly in time deſpair, and give over ſuch enterpriſes; *For there is no Enchantment againſt* Jacob, *nor Divination againſt* Iſrael, *the Lot of Gods inheritance, and his peculiar Care.* If *Mordecai* be of the Seed of the Jews, *Haman* ſhall fall before him. It is matter of comfort to us, and deſpair to the Plotters, that not one of their Plots yet, but hath proved abortive, or they have been defeated by their very ſucceſs.

Beſides, pray let it be obſerved how this Deſign of leſſening our juſt confidence in Parliaments, is otherwiſe carried on and promoted. It is now become the principal buſineſs of the Mercenary Writers for the Plot, to pick up and cull out all the enormities and irregularities of thoſe times, the *Vitia temporum*, and ſtories of wild pranks of ſome beaſtly Fanatical people,

people, that exceed the common degeneracy of those ill times into which the Nation by undiscernable degrees so fouly lapsed, to make thereof an ugly Vizard; and this they clap unduly upon our fifths of the Nation, upon all that love and adhere to our Government and Religion, to render them suspected of destroying again the English Monarchy and the Protestant Religion, even for those very proceedings that they make for preserving both. For the service of Popery requires, that whatsoever opposes it, must be branded with Treason and Fanaticism; that such delicate persons as are fond of the name of Loyalty, though they understand not in what it consists; that hate the name of Fanatick, since it is become as common a name of reproach, as the *Son of a whore*, though they understand not so well what it means, may be sure so to behave themselves, as to be reckoned for Loyal and not Fanatical, by taking the measures of the one and the other, according to the new notion of the Plot-Writers, and so become theirs with all their idle prattle. But let them make their best of this foolish sort of men, if that was all they could effect by this project.

But they design further upon the Nation, *viz.* to match the fears of Popery, with a fear as great of the like Evils to those of Forty one; as if these Plotters had power by their interest to raise a new War, when we have power and authority in our Government, if it were exerted,

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to deſtroy them by Juſtice. But theſe State-Mountebanks think it convenient, becauſe the Nation was caſt into a Frenzy in Forty one, therefore now, when in perfect health, we are to be caſt into a Lethargy to prevent our relapſe; and in the mean time they intend we ſhould periſh inſenſibly and quietly, that way they deſign to deſtroy us.

It is ſince the Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot, that Popiſh Mercinaries have been hired to write virulent Libels againſt the Church, and bitter Invectives againſt Fanaticks. Out of the ſame Mint came a villanous Libel, called *Omnia Comeſtia a Belo*, againſt the Church, apt to render the Church-men ſuſpicious of another deteſtable Sacriledge deſigned; and that loathſome Print entitled the *Committee*, or *Popery in Maſquerade*. Many parts whereof hath no other reaſon of belief, but that they have been the Subject of ſome drunken Rhimes in former times; but it is in the whole an inſufferable Libel againſt the Nation, by its application to this Age.

Theſe Mercinaries are the Authors as well of treaſonable Libels againſt the King, which they form ſo, as they may ſeem to come from the Fanatick party, to render the King jealous of them, as they are of the Libels againſt the Parliament and their proceedings, to breed miſunderſtandings between the King, Parliament and People.

It

It is ſince the Popiſh Plot was diſcovered, that Fanaticiſm is repreſented more intolerable than Popery: That the Popiſh Plot, evident to the ſatisfaction of the King and ſeveral Parliaments, and of our greateſt Judicatures, is yet told us not to be ſo certain, as that the Fanaticks are Traitors in their hearts, though they own no principles, as the Papiſts do, that warrant Treaſonable practices. And theſe Mercenaries, as frankly as if they had for the dividing of the Nation a Warrant ſo to do, call all Fanaticks that oppoſe Popery, deſire Parliaments, and expect they ſhould uſe that power that is lodged in them, to keep out Popery, and preſerve our Government, and to bring to puniſhment thoſe wicked men that have notoriouſly deſigned to deſtroy it. The belief of the Popiſh Plot, in the mean time, is by ſcoffs and paltry Rhimes permitted publickly to be ſung in the Streets, put out of Countenance, and thoſe that believe it expoſed as a ſort of credulous Fools, or deſigning Knaves.

Such a vile eſteem the Papiſts now have of us, that they proſecute us with their ſcorn, and uſe us as if we were below their hate. They think our diviſions, which they have made, have already deſtroyed us; and they now hire a ſort of *Scaramouchy Zaneys*, *Merry Andrews* and *Jack-Puddings* to inſult over us, and make a ſport at our miſeries.

Theſe

Theſe pleaſant Knaves cry with one ſide of the Face, and laugh with the other; but in the mean time they cry in jeſt, but laugh in good earneſt. He that had the art of imitating a grave Spaniard with one ſide of his body, and a brisk *French*-man on the other ſide, rendred both Nations ridiculous.

Theſe vain fellows deprave every thing they meddle with; and whatever they ſay of Church or State, Religion or Policy, is raillery and abuſe, and Pamphleting ſcurrility.

Lord, under what ſeeming fatality do we labor, that it can be thought to the Service of the Church or State, to employ ſuch Knaves!

We are uſed like *Sampſon*, bound, and our Eyes put out, and made ſport for the *Philiſtims*. By theſe py'd Pipers, our young men are ſeduced, and danc'd down a precipice; though theſe merry Knaves have not skill enough to commend them for Rat-catchers, if our City ſhould be infeſted with that vermin, as they ſay the Town of *Hammel* once was. But the Dæmon that appeared there a py'd Piper, who deſtroy'd their Children as well as their Rats, was not more miſchievous to that Town, than theſe motley Knaves are to the Kingdom and Nation.

It is an inſufferable indignity, That the tragical State of our Nation ſhould become almoſt daily the matter of a Raſcally Farce; the very anguiſh and groans of the Nation turned

ed into Laughter and Mockery, ſuch a barbarity was never uſed to a Nation.

It is an exceſs of Petulency, to make abſtract miſery in the very form of it, mimically repreſented matter of Mirth and Laughter.

Theſe men were born out of time, and were fit for no Age but that of *Nero*, of whoſe conſort they ſhould have been, when he played the *Deſtruction of Troy*, to the Burning of *Rome*. But I do not doubt but His Majeſties Juſtice will e're long overtake the Incendiaries, that are ſo pleaſant at the embroilment of his Kingdom, when it ſhall be duly repreſented to him what beautefeus they are, and unmerciful deriders of the Calamities of his People, which they occaſion or promote. Tho they think they may paſs any thing of this kind upon the Nation, made vain with trifling falſe wit and Buffoonery.

It is now Twenty years ſince our Nation was infected with this ſort of wit, and now we are to dye of the diſeaſe. We have a Fiddle provided for us that have been bit with this venemous *Tarantula*, to dance and friſk us to our deſtruction, not to our cure; and yet we pay the Fidler.

This thing Wit, the greateſt debauchment of this Age, hath depraved not only the Manners, but the Judgment and Underſtanding of the Nation too. It hath been accounted the beſt accompliſhment of men in place, the beſt part of the Learning of this laſt Age: It is not the reaſon of the *Leviathan*, ſo much as the vanity of Wit, that

that hath propagated Atheiſm, and corrupted our Manners. This hath made our Judgments inſincere and trifling; our determinate reſolutions in matters of the greateſt moment, ſlight and Phantaſtical; introduc't idleneſs and neglect of ſolid Learning, which requires labour and application to obtain, while this extemporary faculty has been accounted an admired accompliſhment.

There is a ſort of Wit very commendable, which *Tully* calls *celeritas in verbis*, and the Greek Epigram, εὐστοχία παίγνιον ἐμμελές, which is a pleaſant entertainment in converſation, and a commendable refreſhment, where our minds are tired with anxious and graver buſineſs, and the troubles and cares of humane life; but this ought to obſerve its times, its proper ſubjects, it ought to be confined to Table-talk an evening-compotation, and the hours of mirth, and the relaxation of our mind: It may be uſed decently in a Comical Farce; but it is not allowable in *Satyr*, moſt undecent is the uſe of it in Tragedy. But yet it hath inſolently interpoſed in our Politicks, governed publick Councels, ſometimes determined debates in Parliament; hath made our Pulpits contemptible, our Theology trifling: It is admitted to reſolve the greateſt Queſtions, and determine Caſes of Conſcience, to eſtabliſh and refix Church-Government; hath uſurped an authority to alter and pull down Governments, and

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to render them tottering, when they are as firmly eſtabliſht and fixt as a Rock.

That Wit that is abhorred by all men that are wiſe and honeſt, is that verſatile ſhifting, ſquinting, diſtorting of the Underſtanding, that it views nothing truly, and repreſents things not according to their true nature, but under falſe Fantaſtical Schemes, which they affix to them, to abuſe the judgments of others: a man can never arrive to any perfection in this faculty, until he is become falſe, and loſt his truth and modeſty: none but weak men are entertained with it, and ſuch who do not deſire to underſtand truth, but to ſerve a turn, and love to be deceived, and who deceive themſelves for advantage. It is in perfection in old Knaves, and admired by young Coxcombs. It is the Hypocriſie of the Tongue, a plauſible mode of lying and ſlandering; and at beſt, but a pleaſant Knavery.

It will render ridiculous or culpable, by falſe repreſentations, the moſt noble and heroical actions, and put falſe colours upon moſt deteſtable Villanies. It can diſcredit a man by honouring him, and make a thing incredible by the very mode of believing it; making a man ridiculous, it concludes him at the ſame time unworthy; and to confute the moſt avowed Truths, there needs no more than to raiſe a fit of laughter upon it; which has the ſame effect with the men of wit, and their vain admirers, as reducing a falſe

falſe propoſition to an abſurdity: Thus the reaſon of this Age is governed by our riſibility. The Popiſh Writers have thus tickled us with their Wit, that we are ready to dye and periſh laughing, and we know not, nor care to conſider or judge of what does truly concern our preſervation. And by improving the vanity of ſome youngſters, they have drawn them to queſtion the Truth of the Popiſh Plot; and ſome can believe every hour of the day, when they meet with a merry Popiſh Pamphlet, that there is a Proteſtant Plot on foot; though they believe it, I am ſure, not much longer than they are reading it.

I will not grudge my pains in furniſhing a ſhort Demonſtration of the Popiſh Plot, ſince it is of ſuch importance to the ſaving of theſe men and the whole Nation, which poſſibly may fix their minds (notwithſtanding ſo vain they be) into a belief of it; which I have made ſhort, that it may be the better remembred; which I do in kindneſs to them, ſince it was lately (and may be ſo again ſhortly) a criminal matter to bring the truth of it into queſtion; and they are by all honeſt men reckoned as Plotters themſelves who doubt it.

The Plot has been declared by the Kings Proclamation, and four Parliaments, one of them conſiſting of Penſioners and Dependents on the Court, which for eighteen years together, were giving Demonſtrations of their Loyalty to their Prince, almoſt forgetting the publick

Weal: A ſolemn National Faſt has been Indicted by the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Authority of the Kingdom, for averting the miſchiefs thereby deſigned, and ſolemnly Celebrated by the whole Nation; in which, certainly, they did not mock God, and deride his Providence.

Many unparallel'd Villanies have been committed, for the ſtifling, concealing, and ſuppreſſing the diſcovery of it, which (however wicked the Papiſtical Sect of baſe, falſe and degenerate Chriſtians are) we cannot without breach of Charity towards them, think they would commit cheaply, and without cauſe, and to no purpoſe. They have murdered a Miniſter of Juſtice, becauſe he had the knowledge of it, and left nothing undone that they thought neceſſary to Aſſaſſinate another for ſtrenuouſly oppoſing it. They have attempted upon the Lives of our Witneſſes. By perjuries and forgeries they have endeavoured to charge them with the moſt infamous crimes, to deſtroy them in their Lives and Reputations too, in a form of Juſtice. They have attempted by fears and rewards upon the integrity of all our Witneſſes, to draw them to retract their Teſtimony againſt the Plot; for which ſome of their Agents have been judicially cenſured; One Gentleman to the Pillory, Fin'd 1000 l. and Condemned to a years impriſonment: ſo evident and notorious was his offence, and by the Court thought ſo heinous, that it provoked the paſſion of the Court, and they ſeemed to ex-

exceed the ordinary Rules of Juſtice, for that they judged the Caſe to be of an exorbitant and tranſcendent nature.

The Plot of the *Meal-Tub* is a ſublimated piece of wickedneſs, the laſt accompliſhment of villany; it hath out-done all former, and Will never be out-done in after-Ages. The Papiſts by the Diſcovery of the firſt Plot became leſs hopeful in a Maſſacre, and of effecting their purpoſe by force: They dare not now kill the King, for that the World would not now believe it to be done by Mr. *Claypole* and his feigned accomplices; which muſt have born the blame from the Papiſts, and he and they long ſince Executed as Traitors, if that part of the Plot againſt the Kings Life had not been prevented by being detected.

I ſay, the firſt deſign of the Plot being rendered leſs feaſible by the diſcovery; They keep the King alive with care, as well for their avoiding the rage of the Nation, as to leſſen the credit of the Plot: But contrive to deſtroy as many as they thought fit to be Maſſacred, in form of a legal proceſs, and to charge them with a deſign of raiſing Rebellion againſt the King. They had made a Liſt of a great number of conſiderable perſons, whom they intended to charge, principal Nobles and worthy Gentlemen about the Town; had prepared witneſſes to ſwear the charge againſt them, and would certainly with more eaſe, after the firſt Conviction and Execution, have ſworn all that

they had a mind to deſtroy into the ſame guilt. And thus all the truly Religious, the Noble, Good and Virtuous of our Nation, that had courage enough to own, aſſert and defend the true Chriſtianity, and our Government, muſt, to the eternal diſhonour of our Nation and Religion, have ſuffered the execrable death of Traitors.

We have reaſon to think them humane, when they onely deſigned a *Gun-powder Treaſon*, or a Maſſacre. Our abhorrence of this uſage diſchargeth in us all reluctancy to Martyrdom: Let them bring us to the Stake as Martyrs, then we ſhall bear our Teſtimony to the truth of the beſt Religion, and our Lives will not be cheaply loſt; but by this means we muſt be forced to diſhonour this Religion by our deaths. By a Maſſacre or a Gun-powder Plot, the vileneſs, cruelty and treachery of that Apoſtate Church, had been declared to all the World, and that falſe Religion, as well as the profeſſors of it, had been rendered deteſtable, for which end a good man would ſcarce refuſe to dye. But by this means they would have forced us to perſonate their own proper Crimes and Villanies, and diſhonour our own peaceable and holy Religion. A man of Honour prefers his Honour to his Life, and would redeem it by his Death: But by this means we were, though innocent, to loſe our Lives by diſhonour, and to faſten a ſtain upon our Memories by our death. The Prieſts, their impudent Lyes at their deaths,

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in denying the matters of the Plot, of which they were upon clear evidence Convicted and Sentenced, must have past for truths; and all our worthy men dying with protestations of their innocence, must to the everlasting infamy of our Religion and Nation, been accounted false and impious at their last breath. There is no reason to be assign'd of the patience of God or Man towards such miscreants, but that they may have time to add one impiety to another, until an easie vengeance triumphs over them.

And though this last mentioned Plot is cleared beyond all exception, their Faces are hardned, and they are not yet ashamed; but they have since contrived and suborned Witnesses to swear the very Discovery of the first Plot to be a false contrivance of a Plot against the Papists. To this purpose they suborned a Son by perjury to commit parricide against his Father; this the greatest Sin against Earth, the other the greatest affront against Heaven. What a Religion is this, that must be thus supported!

Nay, as if they did not fear or care to loose the favour of their most indulgent Prince, which they have possest since he used Papists in making his escape at *Worcester*; they have contrived these two last Plots with such Art, as to bring them under his Majesties Observation, and represented them as things fit for his encouragement. Sure if they were not urged

with the fears of a real guilt, and a reſtleſs Conſcience of the Plot, they would never have adventured thus to have intereſted the honor of the King, and to tempt him to abandon them to the publick Juſtice of the Nation; which begins to grow impatient, by the delays of it againſt this Helliſh Plot.

For we have had four Parliaments diſſolved ſince the Diſcovery of it, one a darling to the Crown. The bringing into queſtion the Diſſolution of that Parliament in the Houſe of Peers, upon the reaſon of an unnatural Prorogation, was not long before cenſured, and ſome great Lords impriſoned therefore; proceedings ſo unwarrantable, that it was after thought fit by that Houſe to obliterate the Memory of them; ſo neceſſary was that Parliament then thought to the ſervice of the Crown. The Diſſolution of that Parliament, gave us reaſon to fear that the King had no more buſineſs for Parliaments. By theſe Diſſolutions, no publick ends that are intelligible are ſerved, no Intereſt but that of the Plot is gratified; no perſons of any ſort receive their ſatisfaction but the Plotters, who are reſpited thereby from publick Juſtice, and gain time to bring their Plot to effect.

This is the end the Papiſts have ſerved; but the King, our great Phyſician of State, had another reaſon that hath governed him: for he knew the ſtrength of the Plot, our Diſeaſe, and that a Diſeaſe that is dangerous, is ſometimes

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to be palliated, until the ſeaſon comes to make a thorow Cure; for it many times kills the Patient to precipitate the Criſis. All theſe Demonſtrations of the Plot are paſt under every mans obſervation.

But that we know ſo little of it after all this time: It is now above three years ſince the firſt diſcovery. That the Plotters now ordinarily eſcape Juſtice. That a great Judge did abate his firſt Zeal in puniſhing the Plot, leſt he ſhould exaſperate it; and Reaſon of State might thus require it. Theſe things prove the greatneſs and ſtrength of the Plot, as well as the reality of it; theſe declare the Plotters intereſt is great, that the Plot is yet unbroken, ſtanch and hopeful.

Therefore we are not to believe our ſelves well, and live *ſine Regimine*, as the Phyſicians ſay, but to expect, addreſs to, and deſire our Cure.

That the Papiſts think it yet hopeful, is evident from the Prieſts and the Lawyer abjuring their guilt with their laſt breath. We had the honeſt Confeſſions of the Convicted Prieſts and other Traitors of the Popiſh Treaſons of which they ſtood Convicted, in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*; and in the time of King *James*, of the Gun-powder Treaſon. What then could induce our Plotters Convict, to utter moſt ſolemn Perjuries the next minute before they were to appear to God? nothing ſure, but that they then hoped that the Plot might

be executed; they did it for the interest and service of their Church, and for the better bringing that Plot to effect for which they dyed; and for which at their deaths, to conceal, they adventured Heroically upon lyes and perjuries; which if confessed, would have been frustrated and become Abortive: For it must not be believed that even that Church is so degenerate, as to permit and allow men to such impieties, for the punctilio's of honor, though of the Church it self. But while they are not done for the sake of him that commits them, but for an important interest of their Church, (such as the carrying on of this Plot) they say they loose their nature by the direction of the intention, they become a pure piece of mortification and self-denyal, an adventure to trust God in what they do for his sake, and for his service; and their Casuists will no more call them in this Case lyes or perjuries, than *Abraham*'s offering up his Son *Isaac* (though that was at Gods express command) was murder. But the God of Truth, that God who hath declared, that when he himself in any entercourse with Mankind interposeth an Oath, that the matter under that Oath is irrevocable, peremptory and absolute, cannot license or dispense with perjurious falshoods for any end whatsoever.

But I must remark one thing more, and that is, touching the credit of Dr. *Titus Oats*, and Capt. *William Bedloe*, viz. That they have been incu-

incurious in their converſation, have followed their own natural courſe, allowed themſelves in their paſſions, have been apert and unreſerved, have not cared who they offended, have ſought no mans favour, ſeem to care for no mans opinion, have valued and ſupported themſelves only by their veracity, and have ſeemed to ſet all the world at defiance to find a flaw in their evidence, and have had little of friendſhip or eſteem, but for the ſake of their diſcovery. Beſides that ſo long a time hath not afforded a poſſibility, by all the Artifice, Intereſt and unhallowed frauds of *Rome*, to falſify any one part of that evidence. But numberleſs events have given credit and authentickneſs to their Teſtimony. Did ever any feigned Teſtimony bear it ſelf up with ſo much Confidence, Bravery and Aſſurance? was there ever any falſe witneſs that did not endeavour to render himſelf acceptable, to beſpeak favour, which draws after it credit, and to appear of the moſt unexceptionable behaviour? Their faults and imprudences, ſuch as they have been, we would not have wanted, to make their evidence beyond all exception.

The undoubted truth of their evidence alone, hath given them the civil reſpect of all honeſt men, and will give the Doctor the publick honours of the Nation in due time. I will not recite the innumerable Sham-plots contrived againſt the Proteſtants, every one of them a Demonſtra-

monſtration by it ſelf of the truth of the Popiſh Plot, becauſe I have no deſign to exaſperate, but awaken theſe men that are aſleep and ſecure in this ſtorm.

This trouble of demonſtrating of the Plot, may ſeem unneceſſary to the judicious, nay, to the plain ſort of honeſt, upright, and well-meaning men; and ſo it would certainly have been, had not ſome young Gentlemen, by this paltry thing called Wit, been corrupted in their judgments, and brought into a Scepticiſm, and wild undetermination in a matter of ſo great concernment.

This deſpicable faculty hath made a famous Gentleman, who hath a liberal Doſe of it, a Writer of Books, cauſed him to waſte ſo much Paper, and abuſe ſo many Readers; but in all that I have read of him, there is nothing true and ſincere, or truly and ſincerely ſaid; his Judgment is made falſe by his Phantaſie, or he hath ſerv'd a turn by his Verſatile windings and Wily conceits. That dangerous faculty that he indulgeth, hath impoſed upon him, which the ſevere and honeſt enquirers after truth are concerned to mortify and ſuppreſs. And I do earneſtly recommend to all ingenious Gentlemen, that would be rightly inſtructed and informed, neither deceive others, nor would be deceived themſelves, as they love truth and virtue, wiſdom and ſober thoughts, to deſpiſe this ſort of wit in others, and repreſs it in them-

themſelves. And never allow it to be uſed, but in the hours of mirth, in the Relaxations of their minds from ſerious Contemplations and matters grave and weighty, where this prophane thing *Wit* ought always to be ſhut out with care.

Enough hath been ſaid for rectifying the miſtakes of any true Proteſtant, eſpecially any Clergy-man of the Church of *England*, which you have objected againſt them about our Government or Parliament, Diſſenters from the Church of *England* and Popery. Eſpecially, when it is made apparent that theſe miſtakes are made ſerviceable to the Popiſh Plot, and the means which the Popiſh party proſecute to compaſs and bring about the ruine of our Church. But that nothing may be wanting, that lies in my poor power, for pulling their Foot out of the Snare, I ſhall more diſtinctly conſider them.

Firſt, I ſhall deſire them to conſider what our Government is, and where the true knowledge of it is to be found. And where can it be found, but in our Statute-Books, the Commentaries of our Law, the Hiſtories of our Government, and of the Kingdom? Search them if you be at leiſure; if you are not, conſult thoſe that have read them, and whoſe buſineſs and employment it is to underſtand them, and you cannot fail to be informed.

That the King hath no power to make Laws, that

that both Houſes of Parliament muſt joyn with the King in making a Law.

It can with no more reaſon be concluded that the King hath the Legiſlative Power, becauſe his Aſſent makes the Bills in Parliament Laws, than it can, becauſe the third Unit added to two makes a Triad, that the other two do not go to the making of that number.

When a matter's moved from the King in Parliament to paſs into a Law, the Commons conſent laſt. The Letters Patents of *Ed.* 3. for making the Eldeſt Son of a King in Succeſſion Prince of *Wales* and Duke of *Cornwal*, was confirmed (as they muſt have been, otherwiſe they would have been void) by the Houſe of Commons.

Sir *E. Cook* 8. R.

And yet we will not ſay, that the Houſe of Commons can make a Prince of *Wales* or Duke of *Cornwal*. And yet upon no better reaſon than this, ſome men will talk as if they believed themſelves, that the Legiſlative power is in the King, when no King of *England* yet ever pretended to it; but by their proceſs of Law have puniſhed ſuch officious and miſchievous Knaves.

They alſo will tell you that, the Laws are the meaſures of our Allegiance, and the Kings Prerogative, and declare the terms of Obedience and Government.

That a Legiſlative authority is neceſſary to every Government, and therefore we ought not to want it; and therefore Parliaments, in which

which our Government hath placed the making of Laws, cannot be long diſcontinued, nor their Conventions rendred illuſory and in vain, which is all one as to want them.

That to Govern by Laws, implieth that great fundamental Law, that new Laws ſhall be made upon new emergencies, and for avoiding unſufferable miſchiefs to the State.

By the Statutes of 4 *Ed.* 3. *c.* 14. 36 *Ed.* 3. *c.* 10. it is provided that Parliaments be holden once every year. The Statute of this King required a Parliament every three years; which being an affirmatory Law, doth not derogate from thoſe of *Ed* the 3. But if the King doth not call a Parliament once in a year, he neglects theſe Laws; and if he delays calling a Parliament three years, he neglects the other Law of his own time too. And for that he is by the Law intruſted with the calling of Parliaments, he is at liberty to call them within the times appointed.

And that Laws ought to be made for Redreſs of miſchiefs that may enſue, appears by the Statute of proviſors, 25 *E.* 3 *cap.* 23. In which we have theſe words:

Whereupon the Commons have prayed our ſaid Soveraign Lord the King, that ſith the right of the Crown of England, **and the Law of the ſaid Realm is ſuch, that upon the miſchiefs & Dammage which happeneth to this Realm, he ought and is bound of the Accord of his ſaid People in his Parliament thereof, to make Remedy and Law in avoiding the miſchief and damage which thereof cometh:**

which

which that King agreed to by his Royal Aſſent thereto given.

I dare be bold to ſay, that never any Bill in Parliament was loſt, and wanted the Royal Aſſent, that was promoted by the general deſires of the people.

If Popery therefore (which is the greateſt miſchief that ever threatned this Kingdom) can be kept out by a Law, we ought to have ſuch a Law; and nothing can hinder ſuch a Law to be paſt for that purpoſe, but want of an univerſal deſire to have it. I deſire theſe Gentlemen to conſider, how they will anſwer it to our Saviour at the laſt day, if they ſuffer his true Religion, and the profeſſors of it, to be deſtroyed and perſecuted, when nothing but their deſires of a thing lawful to be had, and of right due, was requiſite to prevent it. Their ſufferings will be juſt and righteous from God, if their ſin occaſioneth it, and very uncomfortable to themſelves.

The extent of the Legiſlative Authority, is nowhere to be underſtood, but by our Acts of Parliament, in which it hath been exerciſed and uſed, and by ſuch Acts that declare the extent of its power. By the 13 *Eliz. cap.* 1. it is made Treaſon during that Queens Life, and forfeiture of Goods and Chattels afterwards, **To hold, maintain & affirm, that the Queen by the Authority of the Parliament of England, is not able to make Laws and Statutes of ſufficient force and validity, to limit and bind the Crown of this Realm, and the deſcent, limitation, inheritance and Government thereof.** And

And this authority was exercised by Entailing the Crown in Parliament in the times of *Richard* the 2*d*, *Henry* the 4*th*, *Henry* the 6*th*, *Edward* the 4*th*, *Richard* the 3*d*, *Henry* the 7*th*, thrice in the time of *Henry* 8*th*. and upon the Marriage of Queen *Mary* to King *Philip* of *Spain*, both the Crowns of *England* and *Spain* were Entailed, whereby it was provided, that of the several Children to be begotten upon the Queen, one was to have the Crown of *England*, another *Spain*, another the *Low-Countries*. The Articles of Marriage to this purpose were confirmed by Act of Parliament.

Those that are truly Loyal to our present Soveraign, have reason to recognize with high satisfaction, that such a power of altering and limiting the descent of the Crown, is duly lodged in the King and States of the Realm: For under the Authority of an Act of Parliament of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, we derive our selves to the happiness of his Government, and He his Title to the Crown of *Scotland*, which drew to him the Imperial Crown of *England*. For *Robert Stewart*, first King of *Scotland* of that Family, lived in concubinate with *Elizabeth Mure*, and by her had three Sons, *John*, *Robert*, and *Alexander*; afterwards he Married *Eufame*, Daughter to the Earl of *Ross*, and after was Crowned King of *Scotland*: He had by her *Walter* Earl of *Athol*, and *David* Earl of *Straherne*. When *Eufame* his wife died, he Married *Eliza-*

beth

beth Mure. After that by one Act of Parliament, he made his natural Children first Noble, that is to say, *John* Earl of *Carrick*, *Robert* Earl of *Menteith*, and *Alexander* Earl of *Buchquhane*. And shortly after, by another Parliament, he limited the Crown in Tail Successively, to *John*, *Robert*, and *Alexander*, his Children by *Elizabeth Mure* in Concubinate, and after to the Children of *Eufame Roß* his Legitimate Children; who are to this day in their Issue by this limitation, by authority of an Act of Parliament in *Scotland*, barr'd from the Crown; and we hope ever will be, by the continuance of the Line of our most Gracious King.

Note, that though a subsequent Marriage by the Civil Law, which is the Law of *Scotland*, in such cases, doth Legitimate the Children born before Marriage of a Concubine; yet it is with this exception, that they shall not be Legitimated to the prejudice of Children born *afterwards* in Marriage, and before the Marriage of the Concubine. Besides, the reason of the Civil Law in Legitimating the Children upon a subsequent Marriage, is this, *viz.* a presumption that they were begotten *affectu maritali*; which presumption fails, where the man proceeds to Marry another woman, and abandons or neglects his Concubine.

But I desire these Gentlemen that are so unwilling to be safe in their Religion, which I believe is most dear unto them,

That if any Law should exceed the declared mea-

meaſures of the Legiſlative Authority, though in ſuch caſe they may have leave to doubt of the lawfulneſs of ſuch a Law, yet if it be not againſt any expreſs Law of God, they will upon a little conſideration determine it lawful, if it be neceſſary to the Commonweal; for that nothing can be the concerns of men united in any Polity, but may be governed and ordered by the Laws of their Legiſlature for publick good: for by the reaſon of all Political ſocieties, there is a ſubmiſſion made of all Rights, eſpecially of the common rights of that Community, to the government of its own Laws.

But all this, and a hundred times as much, will not ſatisfie ſome Gentlemen of the lawfulneſs of our Government, and the extent of the Legiſlative power of Parliaments, ſince they have entertained a Notion, that Monarchy is *jure divino*, unalterable in its deſcent by any Law of man, for that it is ſubject to none. That all Kings are alike abſolute. That their Will is a Law to all their Subjects. That Parliaments and the States of the Realm in their Conventions, can be no more than the Monarchs Miniſters, acting under and by his appointment, which he may exauctorate and turn out of office when he pleaſeth: For there can be (ſay they) under the Sun no obliging Authority but that of Kings (to whom God hath given a plenitude of power) and what is derived from them. That this divine abſoluteneſs may govern, and exerciſe Royal Power im-

menſely, and that it is not ſubject to, nor to be abated or reſtrained by any humane inventions or contrivances of men: (however neceſſary and convenient Kings have thought them in former Ages) by ſuch methods and ſuch Offices and Officers (of which number the States of the Realm may be, or not be, as Kings ſhall pleaſe) as they ſhall by their abſolute Will order or appoint. *Our Parliaments*, ſay they, *are Rebellious, and an Uſurpation upon the unbounded power of Kings, which belongs to every King as ſuch* Jure ordinario, *and by Divine inſtitution: That a mixt Monarchy, as ours is, is an Anarchy*; *and that we are at preſent without a Government, at leaſt ſuch as we ought to have, and which God hath appointed and ordained for us: That we by adhering to the preſent Government, are Rebels to God Almighty, and the Kings unlimited Power and Authority under him, which no humane Conſtitution, no not the Will and Pleaſure of Kings themſelves can limit or reſtrain, for that*, jura ordinaria & divina non recipiunt modum: *That the Legiſlative Power is ſolely in the King, and that the buſineſs of a Parliament (if they would think of being onely what they ought to be) is onely to declare on the behalf of themſelves and the People (that ſend them for that purpoſe certainly) the obedience that is due from them to ſuch Laws as the King ſhall make, and that they may be laid aſide wholly when he pleaſeth.* And after all this, what matter's it with them what we ſay our Government

vernment is, hath been, or where the Legiſlative Authority of the Nation is placed, or how uſed?

But I deſire theſe Gentlemen to conſider how they come to theſe Notions, upon what reaſon they are grounded. How a Government eſtabliſhed by God and Nature for all Mankind, ſhould remain a ſecret to all the wiſe, good, juſt, and peaceable men of all Ages. That Kings ſhould not before this have underſtood their Authority, when no pretences are omitted for increaſe of Power, and enlargement of Empire. I deſire them to conſider that this ſecret was not diſcovered to the World before the laſt Age, and was a forerunner of our late unnatural War; and is now again revived by the republiſhing of Sir *Robert Filmer*'s Books, ſince the Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot.

I wiſh they would conſider, that the reaſons ought to be as clear and evident as Demonſtration, that will warrant them to diſcoſt from the ſenſe of all Mankind in a matter of ſuch weight and moment.

That to miſtake with confidence and overweening in this matter, will be an unpardonable affront to the common ſence of Mankind, and the greateſt Violation of the Laws of modeſty. I deſire that they would conſider, and rate the miſchiefs that will certainly enſue upon this opinion, and whether a probable reaſon can therefore ſupport it.

That they would throughly weigh, ponder, and examine the reaſons of theſe bold and new *Dogmata*. For their enquiries ought to be in proportion diligent and ſtrict, as the matter is of moment; and if they are not, their errour and miſtake will be very culpable, and the ſin of the errour aggravated to the meaſure of the miſchief which it produceth and occaſioneth.

Where is the Charter of Kings from God Almighty to be read or found? For nothing but the declared Will of God can warrant us to deſtroy our Government, or to give up the Rights and Liberties of our people. If they are lawful, I am ſure it is villany to betray them, ſince all Political Societies are framed, that all may aſſiſt the common Rights of all. I cannot imagine they can pretend an umbrage from the holy Scriptures for ſuch unheard-of Opinions.

The Jews indeed had a Government and Laws of Gods framing and appointment, and a King of their own chuſing; and ſuch a King as they deſired, by Gods permiſſion they had: But their form of Government ought with leſs reaſon to be the rule of all kingly Governours, becauſe it was a Government choſen by themſelves: then the Laws of the Jews ought to be the Laws of all Nations (which they are not) though made and enacted by God himſelf.

Chriſt would not make himſelf a Judge in a private

private Right ſubmitted to him: He determined the right of the Roman Empire by the poſſeſſion of Soveraign Authority; and ſuch as the whole world had made it, his Diſciples were obliged to acknowledge it, by their obedience and ſubmiſſions, which is the ſum of the Apoſtles Doctrine in this matter.

The Chriſtian Religion inſtituted no form of Governments, but enjoyns us to be obedient to thoſe we have, not onely by expreſs command in the caſe, but by its general Rules of a moſt refined, improved, and extenſive morality.

But though I ſaid the Scriptures have not preſcribed or directed any univerſal Form of Governments, yet the Scripture hath declared the falſhood of this new Hypotheſis of Kingly Government to be *Jure Divino*, or by *Divine Right*: For St. *Peter*, 1 *Peter* 2. 13 and 14, ſtiles Kings, as well as the Governours under him, the ordinance of man; which cannot have any other ſence, but that men make them, and give them their powers. By St. *Paul* the power of Governments indeed is called Gods Ordinance, *Romans* 13. 2. but that is for this reaſon, becauſe in general God approves of Governments as neceſſary to the well-being of Mankind, for the improvement of humane nature, for the puniſhing of Vice, encouragement and ſecurity of Virtue; without them it being impoſſible to live honeſtly and in peace. And he hath made them the under-Miniſters of his pro-

vidence and care over Mankind, and expects of them, that they ſhould promote his true Honour and worſhip in the world, which will be always accompanied with the exerciſe of all civil virtues.

Theſe two different places muſt be ſo underſtood, that they may be both true; and by no other interpretation can they be reconciled and made conſiſtent.

It is impoſſible that any thing can be of mans appointment, which is of Gods Ordination; there can be no ſuch thing as a Co-legiſlative power of Men with their Maker. Government therefore is from God, as he hath made Governments neceſſary in the general order of things; but the ſpecification thereof is from men. The beſt definition that can be made of Government, is in the words of both the Apoſtles put together, θεοῦ διαταγῇ, Ἀνθρωπίνη κτίσις, and ſuch Governments which men make, God approves, and requires our obedience to them, upon all thoſe reaſons which make Governments neceſſary.

The natural and eaſie conſequence and reſult of theſe Scriptures, is this; which I deſire thoſe Gentlemen to obſerve: That whatſoever is not lawfully eſtabliſhed by men, no Law of God, not the Chriſtian Law, doth oblige us to obey.

The Chriſtian Religion doth equally condemn, in the reaſon of its Inſtitutions, Uſurpation and Contumacy. Where the Apoſtle admoniſh

moniſheth us, that if we be free, we ſhould not become Servants, he hath by virtue of that Admonition, made it commendable not to ſuffer the encroachments of Power over us. Moſt certainly therefore, as the Chriſtian Religion doth not prejudice the Soveraign Rights of Princes, ſuch as they are in the ſeveral Forms and Models of Monarchical Governments, *non eripit terreſtria, qui regna dat cæleſtia*, as *Sedulius*; ſo doth it not enlarge them: when by the Goſpel God made us free from his own poſitive Laws to the *Jews*, ſure he did not intend thereby, *de Jure*, to render us Slaves to the Arbitrary pleaſure of men.

No man intends by any thing in the Scripture, that all Mankind is obliged to any one Form of Government, and therefore all men are left to their own. It hath not therefore altered the terms of Government and Obedience that every Nation hath eſtabliſhed for themſelves, but hath confirmed, and ſtrictly obliged the obſervance of them.

To Obedience to Government, we are obliged by as many ties as there are Chriſtian Virtues; and he muſt diſown his Chriſtianity, that departs from his due Allegiance, And ſince our Saviour is declared King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, all Chriſtian Kings are to govern in imitation of his mercy and goodneſs, and in ſubſerviency to the intereſt of his Religion and Kingdom.

Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
Reges in ipſos imperium eſt Jovis,
cuncta ſupercilio moventis.

Whence then is this abſolute Authority of Kings, if it come neither from God nor man?

Give me leave now to inform you, that theſe opinions render you all Traytors, guilty of Treaſon of State, *perduellionis rei*, obnoxious to be puniſhed as Traitors by an Authority lodg'd in Parliament, in the Conſtitution of the Government.

You your ſelves muſt needs condemn your ſelves to have forfeited all your own, who hold ſuch Principles that tend to deſtroy every mans Right, by reſolving all things into the abſolute pleaſure of a Monarch; in which you moſtly diſſerve the King, and are contrary to his Majeſties late Declaration. The men of theſe Principles, the leſs of the Government they are intruſted with, the better; for the leſs they have to give up and betray. I confeſs, if I could believe that this Doctrine was become Orthodox among them, and the prevailing opinion of the Clergie, I ſhould conclude us to be the moſt unhappy people under the Sun. This is an Hypotheſis indeed, that will bring on *new Heavens and a new Earth*; but ſuch wherein no Peace or Righteouſneſs can ever dwell. But I deem all ſuch as are Defenders and Promoters of it, do deſerve a civil Excommunication, more ſmarting than their Eccleſiaſtical; and to be condemned

to

to live upon, and onely feed themſelves with their thin and crude Speculations. To be excluded from any ſhare of that Government that they profeſſedly in their Principles betray. To be puniſhed as ſeditious perſons, and moſt miſchievous Schiſmaticks, far more intolerable in this matter, than the ſcrupulous Brotherhood, for their boglings at an indifferent and inſignificant Ceremony. For that to the ruine of our Religion, and deſtruction of the publick Peace, they divide from that Polity, to which by drawing here their firſt breath, they made Faith; and to which the condition of their birth doth oblige them; they falſifie that which *Arrian* in his *Epictetus* calls the ἐπαγγελία ἀνθρώπου, than which nothing is more ſacred and inviolable.

By creating themſelves a new Allegiance, and obtruding it upon their fellow-Citizens, and Members of the ſame Kingdom, they ſet up a Kingdom within a Kingdom, more dangerous and miſchievous than the Papal *Imperium in Imperio*; which certainly will be introduced, if this Modern and monſtrouſly-extravagant opinion can prevail by a general Credence.

It is criminal, and no leſs dangerous to the being of any Polity, to reſtrain the Legiſlative Authority, and to entertain Principles that diſable it to provide remedy againſt the greateſt miſchiefs that can happen to any Community. No Government can ſupport it ſelf without an unlimited power, in providing for the

happineſs

happineſs of the people: No Civil eſtabliſhment but is controulable and alterable to the publick weal. Whatever is not of divine Inſtitution, ought to yield and ſubmit to this power and Authority.

The Succeſſion to the Crown is of a civil nature, not eſtabliſhed by any Divine Right. Several Kingdoms have ſeveral Laws of Succeſſion; ſome are Elective, others Hereditary, under ſeveral Limitations. All humane Conſtitutions are made *cum ſenſu humanæ imbecillitatis*, under reaſonable exceptions of unforeſeen accidents and emergencies that may happen in humane affairs; and ſo they muſt be intended, and ſo interpreted. The ſeveral limitations of the deſcent of the Crown, muſt be made by the people in conferring the Royal Dignity and Power, which is more or leſs in ſeveral Kingdoms. And the deſcent of the Crown in particular caſes, is governed according to the preſumed will of the People; and the preſumption of the Peoples will, is made by meaſuring and conſidering what is moſt expedient to the publick good; whereas private Eſtates are directed in their deſcent according to the preſumed will of the Decedents. And this is the reaſon that the deſcent of the Crown is governed by other rules than private Eſtates. Onely one Daughter, and not all, as in private Eſtates, ſhall ſucceed to the Crown, becauſe the ſtrength of the Kingdom is preſerved when continued united, and the peace and concord of the people bette

better eſtabliſhed. A ſon of the ſecond venter ſhall inherit, which is not allowed in private Eſtates; becauſe a ſon of the ſecond venter is equally of the bloud of the great Anceſtor, upon whom the Crown was firſt conferred by the people, or after he had got into the Throne obtain'd their Submiſſions, and may equally participate of his virtues.

If the Royal Family be extinct, it belongs to the people to make a new King, under what limitations they pleaſe, or to make none; for the Polity is not deſtroyed if there be no King created; and conſequently, in caſe of this ceſſer or diſcontinuance of the *Regnum*, there may be Treaſon committed againſt the people. By all which it is evident, that the Succeſſion to the Crown is the peoples right: And though the Succeſſion to the Crown is Hereditary, becauſe the people ſo appointed it, would have it ſo, or conſented to have it ſo; yet in a particular caſe, for the ſaving the Nation, the whole Line, and Monarchy it ſelf, it may be altered, by the unlimited power of the Legiſlative Authority. We have been more juſt to the Royal Succeſſion, than the wonderful Sir *Robert Filmer*; for his Hypotheſes will not allow at all of Hereditary rightful Succeſſion: For he, eſtabliſhing the right of the univerſal Empire of the World in *Adams* right Heir, ſince this Illuminato hath enlightned the world in this ſecret, no Succeſſor can, according to his Doctrine, derive any hereditary right from his Predeceſſor. His title can be only his own poſſeſſion; for no man can claim

claim by deſcent the Uſurpation of his Father, but he that is not conſcious to the wrong, and is *bonæ fidei poſſeſſor*, under the preſumed right and title of his Father. I would be underſtood to ſpeak as the matter can be conſidered in a free reaſon, not under the prejudice of any poſitive municipal Law; for to ſuch Laws the right of Crowns, as the renowned Knight will have it, are not ſubmitted.

So that here in this matter their Knight fails them, and can give them no help. Their other friend, the great *Leviathan-maker*, is ſo far from eſtabliſhing an Hereditary Succeſſion, that he leaves Kings to be rightfully aſſaulted, depoſed, and deſtroyed by any perſon that can, who ſtands in danger of being deſtroyed by the King, though juſtly condemned to death; *Leviathan*, Part 2. cap. 21. *Thoſe* (ſaith he) *that have committed a capital Crime for which they expect death, have the liberty to defend themſelves by Arms, as well as the Innocent.* But I mention him onely to render him deteſtable; for I take his Books to be the *dehoneſtamenta humani generis*.

But I deſire them to regard the ſence of all Mankinde, in the words of *Iſiodorus Peluſiota*, ἱερωσύνη καὶ Βασιλεία εἰς ἓν ὁρῶσι τέλος τὴν τῶν ὑπηκόων σωτηρίαν. This governed the Judicious and Learned Dr. *Falkner*; for when he had carried Chriſtian Loyalty as high as he could, to the honour of our Religion and the benefit of the world, for which we are all extreamly beholden to him,

him, he concludes thus in his excellent Book, called *Christian Loyalty*, (viz) *That if any Prince undertakes to alienate his Kingdom, or to give it up into the hands of another Soveraign Power, or that really acts the Destruction, or the Universal Calamity of his people*; Grotius *thinks that in his utmost extremity, the use of a Defence, as a last refuge*, ultimo necessitatis presidio, *is not to be condemned, provided the care of the Common Good be preserved.* And *if this be true*, saith he, *it must be upon this ground, that such attempts of ruining do* ipso facto *include a disclaiming the governing of these persons as Subjects, and consequently of being their Prince or King.* What unreasonableness is there then in shutting the Door upon him, and making it fast against him by an Act of State, who hath excluded himself by his principles and designs? For the truth of the fact, I shall onely refer you to his Secretary *Coleman* his Letters, wherein he saith, *That his Masters intereſt, and the King of* France *his intereſt, is one and the same, and their design, their glorious design, the same*, (viz) *the extirpating the Northern Heresie.* How far the King of *France* hath complied with the design, the cruel Persecution and Exiles of his Protestant Subjects (who at the time of that Letter were under the security and protection of the Laws of that Kingdom, and the Faith of that Crown) do declare to the world. And by what secret influences I know not, he is made so great, his Conquests so easie and expe-

dite,

dite, that he is like to do the work himſelf here in *England* too, and go away with all the Glory. But if the work muſt lie upon our hands, let no man think with himſelf that Popery is not to be introduced here, becauſe the numbers of Papiſts are few; for that will not render the deſign impracticable, but the execution of it more cruel and barbarous; a whole Nation upon the matter muſt be corrupted from the Faith of the true Religion, or deſtroy'd. One ſingle arm of an ordinary ſtrength, not reſiſted, may aſſaſſinate a whole Nation.

Let no man betray his Country and Religion, by pretending the example of the patience and ſufferance of the Primitive Chriſtians for our rule.

The Reformed Religion hath acquired a civil right, and the protection of Laws: if we ought not to loſe our Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates, but where forfeited by Law, we ought much rather not to loſe them for the profeſſion of the beſt Religion, which by Law is made the publick National Religion. And it is ſtrange that ſome men of the ſame Religion in profeſſion, can think (that notwithſtanding) it makes no matter what is done to men if they be Religious; but if they be not ſo, the leaſt publick injuries and injuſtice threatned or done them may be reſiſted, vindicated, remedied, and by right defended by old Laws, or new ones to be made for that purpoſe.

The Chriſtian Religion was publiſh'd when the

the whole world was Pagan, and therefore it was ſubmitted to ſuch uſage as the Governments would give it. But when the Chriſtian Faith had by miracles of patience declared it ſelf to be of Heaven, and of a divine Original; according to the Propheſies on that behalf, it took poſſeſſion of the Empire; Crowns and Scepters became ſubmitted to the Croſs; The Chriſtians acquired a civil right of Protection and Immunity, which they ought not, they cannot relinquiſh and abandon, no more than they can deſtroy themſelves, or ſuffer Violence and Cruelty to deſtroy the Innocent. Such as thus periſh, ſhall never wear a Martyrs Crown, but periſh in the next world for periſhing in this. This will be interpretatively Crucifying Chriſt afreſh after he is received up into Glory, *i. e.* after his Religion is exalted into Dignity, and Honour, and civil Authority. If the Senate of *Rome* had been Chriſtians, they would never have given up the Government to a Pagan *Auguſtus*, with a power to him and his Succeſſors to make Laws for extirpating the Chriſtian Faith.

What is ſaid of the Chriſtian Religion and Paganiſm, holds between the Reformed Religion and Popery.

If any man is ſo vain, as to ſay that an unalterable courſe of Succeſſion to the Crown is eſtabliſhed amongſt us by Divine Right: I ſay, he is a man fitted to believe Tranſubſtantiation, and the infallibility of the Pope; he is deeply lapſed into Fana-

Fanaticiſm, he dreams when he is awake, and his Dreams are Dreams of phrenſie. There are ſome things ſo falſe, that they cannot be diſproved, as ſome things are ſo evidently true, that they cannot be proved. This Propoſition hath no colour to ground it ſelf upon, no medium to prove it, no argument for it which is to be anſwered; nor is there any thing more abſurd than it ſelf, to reduce it to. But if any ſhall adde, that this Doctrine is the Doctrine of the Reformation, and adventure to tell the people ſo; they are the moſt impudent falſaries that ever any Age produced; when there is ſcarce a Child but hath heard what was done, ſaid, and maintained by the Clergie of *England* in the Caſe of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, a *Popiſh Succeſſor*, in the earlieſt time of our Reformation here in *England*.

Our Age is bleſſed with a Clergie renownedly Learned and Prudent: By the Providence of God, and the Piety of our Anceſtors, they poſſeſs good, though not to be envyed, Revenues and Honours.

It is ſcarce poſſible they ſhould have many among them that can countenance a propoſition ſo wickedly impious and ſacrilegious, *That we cannot have new Laws for the preſervation of our Religion, but muſt loſe the old at the pleaſure of a Popiſh Succeſſor*, againſt not their own intereſt, and the Rights of the Church, but againſt the Rights and Liberty of Religion it ſelf. For ſhe is capable of Franchiſes and Immunities, which ought

ought above all things to be moſt zealouſly aſſerted and defended by her Miniſters. Can they themſelves with their own hands ever pull down her Hedg and deſtroy her Defenſatives, and expoſe her helpleſs to the rage of her implacable Enemies, and ſuſpend all the Legal ſecurity ſhe hath for her preſervation, upon the Life of our preſent King, whom God long preſerve? If Kings be admitted to have a power to make Laws, one Proclamation may eſtabliſh the Popiſh Religion amongſt us; which the Papal Bulls, ſo long as that See continues, will never be able to effect.

Next to Religion her ſelf, the Revenues of the Church challenge their faithful care, for they are at beſt but Uſu-fructuary Truſtees of her Endowments for the Succeſſion, which they will wretchedly betray to an Arbitrary Succeſſor, if they do not repreſs ſuch Opinions that pretend to change the Government into an abſolute *jure Divinity Monarchy*, which will leave nothing *jure divino* but it ſelf and the Popedom. Kings for their ſo doing have the authority of Sir *Robert Filmer*, who affirms in his Treatiſe called the *Power of Kings*, Fol. 1. *That the Laws, Ordinances, Letters Patents, Priviledges and Grants of Princes, have no force but during their Life, if they be not ratified by the expreſs conſent, or at leaſt by the ſufferance of the Prince following, who had a knowledge thereof.* This is but the neceſſary conſequence and reſult from the Doctrine of the abſolute power of a Prince:

for in ſuch Government the Conceſſions of a Predeceſſor can no more oblige the Succeſſor, than he can Govern when he is dead; and the Succeſſor muſt be abſolute in his time, as the Predeceſſors were in theirs. But in vain is the Net ſpread in the ſight of any Bird; this deceit is of ſo groſs a thread, that it cannot paſs with the common people, much leſs upon our Clergy.

But I will not diſſemble what may be the true reaſon of the ſeduction of ſome young good-natured Gentlemen of the Clergy.

It is thus they perſwade themſelves, that if theſe principles and opinions of the *Unlimited Power of Kings* had been received, the late Wars had been prevented: Not rightly conſidering, that if ſuch opinions had never been broached, or Univerſally rejected, that War could never have enſued; and we ſhould together with peace have enjoyed our ancient Government which our Anceſtors tranſmitted to us, without that miſerable *inter-regnum*.

I would not be perverſely underſtood by any man, as if I went about to juſtify our late War: This is all I ſay, that every Government once eſtabliſhed will continue for ever, if all the parts of it would unalterably conſent to preſerve it, to which their natural Allegiance doth oblige them: And never any Prince endeavered to change the Government, but where part of the people were firſt willing, or content to have it ſo.

Thoſe

Thoſe falſe flatterers that go about to remove the boundaries of power, and change the Government, are the greateſt enemies to the quiet and happy Reigns of Kings, and the peace and proſperity of Kingdoms.

And if they do adventure to call their fellow-Subjects by any opprobrious names of diſloyalty, becauſe they will not joyn with them in ſuch change, they are as abſurdly impious and inſolent, as any Prince or State would be, who ſhould challenge another, as free and abſolute as himſelf, for his Tributary and Vaſſal; and traduce him for a troubler of the World, becauſe he would not Compoſe the Quarrel, thus injurioufly ſought, with the ſurrender of his Crown and Dignity.

I deſire theſe Gentlemen to conſider, that the happineſs of a Nation is beſt ſupported with Truth and Juſtice: This new Doctrine is not true; and whoſoever entertains a belief of it, is not onely barely miſtaken, but will be led by the miſtake, into the moſt miſchievous, impious, and ſacrilegious injuſtice and treachery.

It is very agreeable to a good man, to embrace a propoſition with an eaſie belief, that offers the leaſt ſeeming probability of a ſecurity againſt the miſeries of War, by all means to be avoided. But this Doctrine of the *Divinity* of Kings, is moſt dangerous to the Peace of Kingdoms, for it is pregnant with Wars: Beſides that it will give bad Princes, which ſometime

hereafter may be Born into the World, (for such there have been now and then) power to make their Reigns worse than War, and Plague and Famine to boot.

The Panick fear of a change of the Government, that this Doctrine occasioned, and the Divisions it made among us, was the principal cause of the late War.

It is not without reason, that, together with these new principles, revived since the Discovery of the Popish Plot, we have a perpetual din and noise of *Forty one*.

Then that fatal War began, which proceeded to the destruction of the Prince, and ruin of the Church and State: The remembrance of it is the principal matter, that stuffs our weekly Pamphlets; and it is brought into common discourse, and grown so trival, that it is mentioned and heard without abhorrence and regret: And what Service this can be to His Majesty, I do not understand; much better it were, that the memory of it were utterly extinct and abolished for ever, except onely in the Anniversary of that great Prince that so fell. Then, I say, and then onely, is it fit to be remembred, when we are on our Knees to God Almighty, and in his presence affecting our selves with sorrow and remorse, deprecating the like Judgments, and bewailing the National Sins that occasioned those: For notwithstanding the Glories of that Great Prince his unhappy death, and the admired

admired Devotions of the εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, The ſtory of the Calamities of his people, (all his three Kingdoms involved in War during his Reign) and the remembrance of them, will be with ſome Men not very Loyal, a ſtain and diminution to the Glories of the Royal Family. In Princes, their Calamities are reckoned amongſt the abatements of their Honor; and meer misfortunes are diſgraces, and have the ſame influence upon the minds of the common people, as real faults and male adminiſtrations.

How then can this tend to the peace of the Nation, or the Honor of the King? what ſatisfaction is it to have our almoſt-healed wounds, thus perpetually rub'd and kept green?

——Quis ſua vulnera victus
commemorare velit——

Why ſhould any of our Nation inſult over the miſeries of his own and neighbour Kingdoms, when he muſt be the moſt barbarous villain, and have deveſted himſelf of all humanity, that is not deeply empaſſioned at the remembrance of them? If a *Thuanus*, or a *Philip de Comines* were to paſs a Judgment of the condition of our late times, upon the conſideration of our late Tragedies, and the Preludium's to it in the Reigns of King *James* and the late King; it would be formed and pro-

nounced in these words of *Tully*, upon another occasion:

Mihi quidem, si proprium & verum nomen vestri mali quæratur, fatalis quædam calamitas incidisse videtur, & improvidas hominum mentes occupavisse, ut nemo mirari debeat humana consilia divina necessitate esse superata.

But this is not all,

——— *Nec Dum finitur Orestes.*

We are affrighted by the weekly Pamphlets, with the expectation of another Parliamentary War; and this is the true reason of the mention of the late War, that we may forgo our Parliaments for fear of another. So it is written in our publick Prints, which are published under permission, as if Parliaments are designed to be rendered hateful, and to be feared as Plagues, Famines, or Inundations of the Sea.

But who is to begin, who designs this War, the Pamphleteers, or those that set them on work, best know: We had never heard of any such thing, if the Mercenary writers of the Popish Faction had not told us of it, as they do weekly: and hitherto we cannot find any Colour for this affrightful Lye; they are impudent so to talk of it as if they believed it, and have brought some as weak men, as they are false Knaves, to a belief of it: But to do them no wrong, those may best know what is to come

to

to pass, who have the power of contriving and designing.

Qui pavet vanos metus veros fatetur.

The vilest Traitors cannot contrive a greater prejudice to the King and his Family, than by advancing such a dismal thing into credit and belief: for fears, though but upon imaginary and false grounds, produce real effects, as well as they are in themselves really afflictive; and that almost equally, if of continuance, to the evils feared. Do these men speak like true Loyalists, that are mentioning perpetually the Calamitous War in the time of our Kings Father, and fright us with another now ensuing; after those Universal, Solemn, and hearty Joys of the whole Nation for his Restauration, after so many Millions of Money most dutifully issued out of the affections of his people from time to time at His Majesties Royal pleasure, and nothing complain'd of, but that they have not opportunities of issuing ten times more, to the service of His Majesties Glory? Nay, they speak of this ensuing War, as if the Royal Standard was already displayed, and the Rebels had made their Musters; which must certainly affect the Royal Family with the greatest danger.

If there were twenty *Trajans* derived from one stock, that had Reigned in an uninterrupted Succession, Two immediate Successours, that

ſhould have their Reigns ſucceſſively attended with civil Wars, were enough to efface their own, and the glories and merits of ſuch Anceſtors. But baſe Caitiffs, you can no more truly believe the laſt Parliaments deſigned upon his Majeſties Crown and Dignity, to make War, and change the Government, than you can believe that every Mothers Child of them, before they came up to the laſt Parliaments, ſet his Houſe on fire and burnt his Wife and Children.

But theſe impudent Forgeries againſt the Houſe of Commons, are contrived to make the people afraid of Parliaments: that this new model of Government in proceſs of time, when we have an enterpriſing Succeſſor, may take place, for the ſervice of the Popiſh Religion. For upon the ſtrength of Dr. *B----s* performance, who hath with great labour found out (which is hard for any man acquainted with our Engliſh Hiſtory to be ignorant of) that our Parliaments were not always ſuch as now conſtituted: This bleſſed change of our Government will never be atchieved. The Nation will never be perſwaded, by any thing that he hath found out in his diligent reſearch, that the Houſe of Commons is an *overgrown Wen*, an unnatural Accreſcency to the Government, and fit to be cut off, if that which is offered in the Argument to conſideration be duly weighed. Neither can the moſt inſolent Paradox of Sir *Robert Filmers Patriarcha*, contribute much to this purpoſe. But for that I have in my

Argu-

Argument too forwardly deſpiſed it, conſidering that many have conceived a favourable opinion of it, that it may be able to deceive but a very few for the time to come; for the ſake of ſuch Gentlemen who have not choſen their ſide, are glad of the leaſt Colour or dream of a Shadow, a ſingle opinion of any body, it matters not whom, to relieve their modeſty in their notorious defections from Truth, Juſtice and the Government; I ſhall here conſider his Hypotheſis, eſpecially for that it was Re-printed, and is magnified by the *Factors* for the Popiſh Plot.

And firſt, I will draw it out ſhortly, in all its ſtrength, and make it more argumentative than he hath left it, (for he hath left his willing Readers to find out the Argument, and to make the Concluſion.) *Adam*, ſaith he, *was the Father of Mankind; that to him as Father, belonged an Abſolute dominion over all his deſcendents; that all Men being ſo born, are born under ſubjection to ſuch an Authority: This Authority ſo reſerved upon us by God, and the condition of our birth, and the manner of coming into the World, is to be ſubmitted to, in the perſon of the preſent King, who by becoming King, is for that reaſon veſted with this Abſolute Authority. This power, and the duty of our ſubjection to it, reſults from our being Born, and coming into the World, after the manner of men.* This power of Kings is grounded (by him) meerly upon this natural reſultance, and not from

from any positive and expreſs Revelation from God, for ſuch, neither we, nor he, yet ever heard of.

We will now then conſider, what there is of weight in this fictitious Reaſon of Government, in which the World is ſo lately illuminated by this Speculator; what force there is in it to unravel all Models of Government that are framed in the World, to confound Kingdoms and Nations, and to give Warranty to the bringing upon us all the miſeries that are deſigned by the Papiſts for us; which we are to be prepared to ſuffer, with moſt conſcientious patience, from the comforts and ſupports of this inſolent and vain pretence.

I appeal to the Reader of him, whether in thus ſtating his Doctrine, I have not made it more Argumentative and concluding to his purpoſe than he left it: I will take this method of remonſtrating the futility of his *Hypotheſis*,

By conſidering what a Father is, and what his Duty towards, and Power over his Children; in which it will be found, that nothing of Empire belongs to him as Father; that no more belonged to *Adam* over his Children, than did to any of his Children over their own.

That the Authority of Parents over their Children, continues together with Soveraign power, and is not at all abated by it; and that it cannot

cannot be the ſame, becauſe it continues entire with it.

That there is no footſteps in the Records of the Old Teſtament, to verifie his *Hypotheſis*; that we could not have wanted ſome Declarations about it from God, (if true) it being a matter ſo neceſſary for us to know. That no claims were made, (that we know of) to any ſuch authority in the earlieſt times, when the Right was unprejudiced, and muſt have been beſt underſtood, and could not have been forgotten, as now it is utterly.

Beſides that it was never uſed. The firſt Hiſtories Recorded in the Bible, make every Child of the common Anceſtor alike independent and abſolute, and ſo it would for ever have continued: And to this day we ſhould have been in the ſtate of Nature, and not United in any Government, and ſo no King yet in the world, notwithſtanding the Paternal Authority. That his Inſtances of exerciſing Soveraign power by the Fathers of Families, are not concluding, and to his purpoſe.

That admitting *Adam* had while he lived been Univerſal Monarch, (yet if there be no other reaſon and Foundation of Monarchy in the World, but this of Sir *Robert Filmer*) *Adams* right Heir not being known, (and if he were, might perhaps be an Ideot or Lunatick, ſome Cobler or Botcher under a Stall, or mean Perſon unfit to govern) we can have no right-

ful

ful King in the World: for certain it is, that there is nothing in the World so personal as Relations, and the duties and Rights that do result from them: For they are neither assignable to, nor can be exercised or exacted by and between any persons, but the Relatives themselves: So that this power of Sir *R. F.* hath no foundation of reason in the nature of things, was in Fact never exercised, and is now utterly fallen to the ground, and all Government with it. A more puzled, vain, sensless and unlearned Paradox, was never yet offer'd to the world, nor a thing more mischievous ever received. For first, the absolute Power of a Prince over his Subjects, is not at all connatural to the dutiful Care of a Father over his Children.

It was the good pleasure of God that this part of the immense world should be planted with men endowed with a Capacity to admire his Power, Wisdom and Goodness, and therefore to render him praise and worship: He design'd that we should be happy in our own enjoyments, and promote the happiness of each other; which is not to be performed, but by a mind serene, beneficent, and loving. He provided that the dissseminations of Love should run parallel, and be under alike necessity with the propagation of our kind. For the planting Love in our Nature, he instituted Marriage for Procreation, that we might owe our Being to the state of the greatest and most agreeable friendship,

and

and tendereſt affection. That for many years we ſhould be educated by a pure, ſingle, and undeſigning love of our Parents: and the friendſhip of that conjugal State, ſhould be maintained by, and principally exerciſed in, their common care of their Iſſue.

Every Act of Love of either of the Parents to the Child, being the beſt inſtance of love to the other of them; an endearment of a reciprocal love, and a provocation to the like love and care of the Child. And for this love the Children naturally pay a return of an affectionate honour to their Parents; and by that honour which we ſo naturally render our θεοὶ ἐπίγειοι, our Earthly gods, we are initiated, trained up, and inſtructed devoutly to worſhip our heavenly Father. God did likewiſe ordain, and ſo it was, that all Mankind ſhould derive from one ſtock, be made of one blood, and every Man every Mans Brother, of the ſame Family and cognation. By this it was provided by the Father of us all, that we ſhould be born into the World, under the tendereſt care for our preſervation, and improvement of our Nature; be powerfully enclined to love and beneficence; whereby we may be pleaſed with our ſelves, and at Peace and Amity with our whole kind; and diſpoſed to celebrate the infinite Wiſdom and Goodneſs of our almighty Creator, with moſt affectionate Praiſes.

That the Generations of Mankind might certainly proceed, God planted in our Natures powerful

powerful and irresistible instincts to procreation, which the *Jews* call a Precept, tho after this no Precept seem'd necessary, for encrease and multiply they make a Command. But we follow our own propensions, and have no conscience of obedience to a Law, when we observe and follow them; which are so strong, pleasurable, and entertaining, that if God had not planted a restraint of Modesty in our Natures, and a sense of decency, we should over-do the business, and degrade our selves from the dignity of our Natures.

Thus far the Parents are fulfilling Gods appointments, and gratifying their own Natures. What from all this can give them a right over their Child? All men coming into the world this way, are no less free, than if they had been form'd in *Lucretius* his Bottles, and drop't out of his imaginary matrixes, and we were all αὐτόχθονες & Aborigines.

In this they are onely executing the appointment of God, are but his Instruments to bring us into this World, and are all along rewarded and entertained, and caressed by the order of Nature. *Adam* ow'd this duty to God his Father; and so ordered it was, that he ow'd it to himself, and to his own natural propensions, pleasures and satisfactions to propagate.

The several succeeding generations of men, as soon as they are men, have as much Right to the enjoyment of themselves, to the freedom of their

their own Will, and to live by their own measures, as *Adam* himself had. Our Parents do not give us life, but hand it to us from the Fountain of being, the Universal Father of all things.

Vitai Lampada tradunt.

And this is allowed, acknowledged by all Mankind: for assoon as Children can Govern themselves, we declare them free, that they are *sui juris*, they are extrafamiliated, and become themselves Fathers, and acquire to themselves.

The Jews, who had a Kabala of the truest and most antient Theology and Morality, best understood their own Laws, and were furnished with the knowledg of what Power and Authority Fathers had over their Children, whether by nature, or by vertue of the fifth Commandment, did take their Sons to be *ipso jure*, Emancipated and *suæ potestatis*, as soon as they were *pubertatis plenæ*: The time of which they reckoned, at the farthest, when they were 13 years, 3 months and one day old. And therefore whereas it was one of the Laws of *Moses*, *Deut.* 21. *v.* 18, 19, 20, 21. *That the Stubborn and Rebellious Son, at the Complaint and prosecution of the Father and Mother, was to be judg'd to be ston'd to death*; They say a Son was not under this Law until he was 13 years and one day old: for until that time he was not *Filius præcepti*, not bound to any Laws: As not

not until that time presum'd of competent discretion, consideration, or conscience, to make him a Transgressor, or Breaker of a Law. But three Months after, they reckoned him compleatly adult, upon a general Presumption: when (and sooner, if he were sooner adult) he was free from the Power of his Father, and could not incur the mentioned Law, which condemns the rebellious and stubborn Son to be stoned to death. *Maimonides Tract. Memarim.* But the Father who struck the Son, after he was adult (the Jews tell us) incurred Excommunication, for that he offended therein against the Law, *Levit.* 19. 14. *Thou shalt not put a Stumbling-block before the Blind:* By which Precept they understand all things indecent and dishoneſt to be forbidden. By which it doth appear, that the Jews did not take their Children to be longer under the authority of their Fathers, than until they commenced, in the sooneſt account, Men. Besides, that Law of *Deut.* Chap. 21. seems to be onely a permission of an unnatural kind of severity to the offended Parents, at whose suit onely the punishment of that Law could be inflicted; such a sort of permission and liberty it was, as was indulg'd to them in the matter of Divorce.

But that which hath imposed upon this Gentleman, I believe, is, for that while they are to be educated, Parents exercise an Authority over their Children, which a sower Father may imagine to be Power. This I believe

lieve gave the Gentleman his miſtake, becauſe he ſaith a Child and a Slave doth not differ; which is a ſhrewd indication that he was ſomething too maſterly over his Children. But all equal parents know and underſtand, that the Education of their Children is duty and care; and it may, not improperly, be called a Sort of Generation-Work.

For I pray let it be conſidered, That the fœtus is not perfected aſſoon as it is extruded the Matrix, no not until it be able to perform, unaſſiſted, all the Actions of its proper life. That the life of a man is a life of Reaſon. That he cannot do the Acts of a man until he hath it in the exerciſe of it. He is not a perfect fœtus, ſo as to be neglected by his parents, as ſoon as he can feed himſelf: the man after this may miſcarry; and after this, if expoſed by his parents, and not continued under their care, be abortivated. Education is a kind of Incubation. Our faculties are to be formed and drawn out into uſe, as well as our body to be organized, before we can be denominated men. While this is accompliſhing, the parents are but executing the natural inſtinct of propagating their like; until they have made them men, they are not begotten in their own likeneſs. They therefore with an eaſie propenſion, and a natural care, do apply themſelves to offer things to their obſervation, to furniſh their Memories, to try their judgments in little Eſſays, to render them diſcourſive, to draw out their faculties into uſe, until by little

and little they arrive at diſcretion, and a power to form true judgments of what belongs to them; and to govern themſelves in ſuch Affairs and buſineſſes that are to employ them.

But while this is a doing, they are under a Government of love and care, by the Arts of Diſcipline to be trained up to perfection. Several freakiſhneſſes and caprices are to be cured, and the ſtrength and luxuriancies of ſeveral natural Appetites are to be abated and reſtrained; and they are to be held to attention and obſervation, and made patient of inſtruction: Correction is to be adminiſtred to theſe purpoſes, and by theſe meaſures: But this duty of Correction doth not participate any thing of the Nature of Civil Government. It hath nothing of the Nature of puniſhment, exemplarity, or vindicative Juſtice.

It is not for the gratifying of the Parents diſpleaſure to ſecure him againſt wrong or injury, to deter others, but to amend, improve, and better the Child, and always terminated to, and directed to that end; and by thoſe meaſures it is tenderly and affectionately adminiſtred.

It will not be impertinent to obſerve, that our Common Law had no opinion of any Soveraign Authority in a Father. And alſo that the Statute of 25 *E.* 3. which declares petty Treaſons as well as high Treaſons, doth not declare the Sons killing the Father to be Treaſon, tho Treaſon it is for

for a Servant to kill his Maſter. In which we have the Authority of our Parliament, and of the conſtant opinion of our Judges. That the nature and relation of a Father and a Son, doth not favour any thing of Government, or of a ſervile or Political ſubjection; For that they have not made Parricide Treaſon, though it is the moſt unnatural and moſt deteſtable Crime, and a far greater ſin than that of killing a Maſter.

But further, to clear the true notion of a Fathers Authority, that it is duty and care, not Empire and abſolute will; Let it be conſidered, that God by his right of Creation hath an abſolute, plenary, and direct dominion over us; we are more his than we are our own, or than any thing can be ours. Yet when he was pleaſed, of his gracious condeſcention to our capacity, to quiet our fears of his power, and to invite our love, and aſſure our hope, he did declare himſelf our Father, thereby to aſſure us, that he would not rule us *pro imperio*, and according to his abſolute right he had over us. That ſtile he himſelf delights to uſe, and gives us leave to call him our Father; by which we all underſtand, that he will not proceed with us according to his Right of abſolute domination, no not in the terms of ſtrict Right and Political Juſtice: But that he will conſider our frame, pity our infirmity, correct us as his Children, but not puniſh us with an exterminating Juſtice.

Amongſt the *Romans* antiently no man was admitted a Judge in Criminal Cauſes, but he that was a Father of Children; that the ſeverities of a Judge, might be abated by the tenderneſs of a Father; that he who had Children of his own, might have the more pity to thoſe of others; ſo different is the Office of a Judge, from the natural duty and tenderneſs of a Father. It is the greateſt violence that can be done to Nature, to compel a Father to ſit in Judgment upon his Son. Next to that of obliging and compelling a man to execute himſelf, to make it the Fathers duty to pronounce a capital Sentence upon the Son, is the moſt unnatural thing in the World. The Father and the Son in this conſideration are *conjunctæ perſonæ*; and when the Sin of the Father is viſited upon the Son, the Son is afflicted, but the Father is puniſhed; and when the Son hath the *Queſtion*, the Father is taken to be confeſſed *in tormentis filii.*

But for a further inſtance to make it appear how incompetent the duty of a Magiſtrate is with the Nature of a Father, I will obſerve, that notwithſtanding a Law was given to *Adam* and all his Sons, to eſtabliſh Judicatures according to the Tradition of the *Jews*, as may be ſeen in Mr. *Selden* his Book *de jure Gentium ſecundum Hebræos*; which Law by the way had been ſupervacaneous, if the Power of a Prince did belong to *Adam* in the right of his Pater-

Paternity, and a Government had been provided for them by their Birth. Yet, I ſay, notwithſtanding that, there was ſuch a Relaxation of Juſtice in the World before the Flood, becauſe it could be only adminiſtred by a Father, or ſuch who participated of the ſtock of love lodg'd in the common Father, from whom his Children did derive their tenderneſs one to another, as they themſelves ſprang from him. That the World was grown ſo wicked within two ages (as men then liv'd) from the Creation, that a Univerſal deluge was brought upon the World, by the juſt Judgment of God, for the outragious and inſufferable Wickedneſs that had ſpread it ſelf univerſally over mankind, 8 perſons only excepted. The overflowing deluge of Wickedneſs, that caus'd the deluge of waters, can't be imputed to a more probable cauſe, than to the indulgence and impunity that the obſerved and underſtood nearneſs of Kindred, that all men ſtood then in to one another muſt naturally occaſion.

This is a ſad conſequence of that natural Love in Parents towards their Children, which was intended for the propagation and advancement of Mankind. But ſince that now we are eſtranged one from another in remote and unknown degrees, and that prejudice is over; here is a Gentleman, to deſtroy the World another w[illegible] and to undo us by unreaſonable and unl[illegible]d power, (which is alike apt to make [illegible]ld fit for another Univerſal deſtru-

ction, if it be not without more deſtroyed by it) doth endeavour to turn the exerciſe of ſuch power into a Right, and to give it warranty from the Reaſon and way of our propagation; and by this means to deſtroy us faſter than we can be born and bred, and impair the Generations of Mankind, to render them extreamly miſerable, or wicked, which is much worſe; extinguiſh the light of the World, which is Love and Amity; and deſtroy the encouragement and reaſon of almoſt all relative Morality.

What a Saturnine Father have we got, to make a golden Age! who ever would have thought, that the στοργη, the moſt moving, kindeſt, moſt tender, pleaſing, and beneficent inſtinct in Nature, planted by God the Father of us all, for the propagating, educating, and improving humane Nature, ſhould ever be made uſe of to found a right of Tyranny, and Arbitrary domination, the greateſt deſtroyer and depraver of Mankind? What Monſter hath this laſt Age produced! a Chriſtian, a Father, ſeriouſly endeavouring to perſwade all Mankind to offer up their Children to *Moloch* the Saturn of the Eaſterlings, who was but the Devil of Tyranny, as the name imports!

This στοργη, the true Origine and Fountain of Love and Amity, and the ſocial Virtues which render men humane, from whence flows

flows all the happineſs of Mankind, will by this Doctrine be corrupted and rendred unſincere and ſelf-deſigning. For when a Father performs an Act of Generation, it ſeems now he deſigns to add a ſlave to his Retinue; and when a Child is born, there is another *Item* added to the Inventory of his Eſtate. If this Fountain be corrupted, there can be nothing ſincerely kind after it in Humane Nature. The *Leviathan* is out-done by this Gentleman, and hath not performed half ſo renownedly in the great Work of depraving Humane Nature, as our Patriarchal Knight will do, if his Admirers can bring him into vogue and eſteem.

For the Author of the *Leviathan* allowed ſomething good in Humane Nature, ſeveral equal propenſions, which he terms her Counſels, and ſometimes adventures to call the Laws of Nature: But he concludes they are not practicable, and they are only fools who govern themſelves by them.

But this Gentlemen will not allow Nature to be good in her firſt inſtitution and deſignment; though in this I think they are near agreeable, that Mr. *Hobbs* made the Pourtraicture of Humane Nature in an agreeableneſs to his own evil Ingeny; and this Knight did ſet himſelf: when he made this his draught of a *Father*, he could have no other Original but himſelf, or the Idea of the moroſe and ſowr Dr. *P. H.* his admired friend; but by his Character he had at leaſt

misfigured his understanding, and made it his own Nature by liking it.

2*ly*. No more of authority belong'd to *Adam* over his Children, than does to any of his Children over his; for that this Authority proceeds from Nature, and Nature is alike in all men. The duty of their education, and the Authority over them that is competent to that purpose, is as much belonging to them, and incumbent upon them, as upon the Protoplast. The duty is so personal, consisting ἐν χέσει, that it cannot be transferred, or permitted absolutely to any other person by the Parents; nor can any man challenge a right to it, or discharge the Father from it, or require the same affection, submission and reverence that is due from a Child to his Father.

To expect relative duties without Relation, is most unnatural; it is as impossible as incongruous. We may as well love and hate, rejoyce and grieve, without the proper object and incitements of those passions. The fundamental Rule of all morality, is that of *Epictetus*, ταῖς χέσεσι τὰ καθήκοντα ἔδοξε μετρεῖται, (that is to say) by the State and Condition in which we stand, the relations and respects under which we are considered, our duties are determined, measured, and adjusted: upon which see *Simplicius* his Excellent Discourse, wherein many things are said agreeable to our purpose. This moral Aphorism is as certain as any proposition in *Euclid*, as the Doctrine of pro-

proportional Triangles, and received as ſuch by all the Maſters of Moral Philoſophy. There is no other foundation of our duty to God or Man, or towards our ſelves: This Rule, whatever it is, muſt declare it. Whatever is meaſured and allowed by this Rule, is commonly called, (which is comprehenſive of all that is honeſt, juſt, and fit) τὸ πρέπον. The application of this Rule is called by St. *Paul* λογίζεσθαι τὰ σεμνὰ, which when a man obſerves, he is perfectly moral. A man may as well pay his debts by giving away his Money, be grateful to his benefactor by being beneficent to ſtrangers, as perform that duty he owes his Father, to any but he that is ſo: It is as impoſſible to ſeparate the ſhadow from the Subſtance, as to make that ſubſiſt by it ſelf, which grows by reſultance from the ſtate and condition of the perſon; or that without that ſtate of the perſon, from which it doth ariſe, it ſhould ever accrew.

3*ly*. Admitting *Adam* had a Soveraign Authority over all his deſcendents, which muſt grow (if there was any ſuch thing) from ſome poſitive inſtitution, and not from his paternity, yet the natural Authority and Duty of Parents towards their Children, continues entire together with Soveraign Power, and is not at all abated by it, and therefore cannot be the ſame. No Soveraign Power can extort the Children from their Fathers Authority and Care: This is a duty in Nature before Governments. They cannot belong to the Government, before they

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are *filii præcepti*, and capable of the Conſcience of a Law. It is a duty in Parents to educate their Children, and a right they have in conſequence to govern them, that cannot be taken from them. It is the Parents duty to form their Conſciences. They are appointed by God, the great Miniſters of his Providence and Grace to the Children. That they perform this Office, he hath tyed them to it by the ſweeteſt conſtraints and almoſt violences of Nature, by an irreſiſtable love and tyes of Endearment that cannot be broken. This declares their Right of Authority over their Children, againſt any interpoſings of Soveraign Authority to its prejudice, let or hinderance. *Thomas Aquinas* poſitively determines, that it is not lawful for Chriſtian Kings to baptize the Children of the *Jews* againſt the will of their Parents, for that (ſaith he) it is againſt the courſe of natural juſtice.

4*ly*. There is no footſteps in the Records of the old world to verifie this Hypotheſis. That ſuch Authority was ſo much as pretended to, uſed or exerciſed by *Adam*; but we find inſtances againſt it in the ſhort Hiſtory before the Flood. *Cain* received no ſentence from *Adam* his Prince and Soveraign Judge, but from God himſelf, or rather from his *Shecinah*, or ſome viſible Repreſentation of his preſence.

Thence he obtained ſome degree of impunity, and his life protected. No mention here at

at all of *Adam* his taking the Tribunal, or *Cains* arraignment, or of any pardon or indulgence granted by King *Adam*. *Lamech* that had killed a man by miſchance, did not alledge his caſe at his Father *Adams* Court, and the matter of extenuation of the Man-killing; we hear of no pardon of Courſe to be allowed, when the circumſtances of fact had been firſt judicially conſidered.

How could a thing of ſuch importance be omitted in the ſtory of the old World, though ſo ſhort? It was of more concernment, than to know that *Tubal Cain* was the firſt Smith, and *Jubal* the firſt man that made a Muſical inſtrument, to know the original nature and reaſon of Government.

Beſides, we find all the grand-Children of *Noah* becoming Princes of Countries, and the Sons and grand-Sons of *Eſau* alike Dukes and Princes; that is, at leaſt abſolute Fathers of their own Families, and ruling over ſuch as were their ſlaves and dependants.

And the 12 Sons of *Jacob* are all called Patriarchs.

When *Nimrod* plaid the Tyrant, we find nothing ſaid for his juſtification, upon any Patriarchal right.

But if we conſult the Traditions of the *Jews*, they will inform us of another original of Government, and that is this: They ſay that God gave ſeveral Precepts to *Adam* and his Sons,

Sons, and *Noah* and his Sons, and one amongſt the reſt, that they ſhould erect Governments, which his Sons could not have performed without Rebellion againſt their King-Father, if *Adam* had been ſo, as Sir *Robert Filmer* firſt dreamt.

Alſo beſides that of making Governments, there was a Precept given them of honouring their Parents, *Selden de jure Naturæ ſecundum Hebræos, fol.* 792. And therefore the Precept of honouring Parents, is a diſtinct duty from that of obedience to Governments. By this Precept they had Authority in general to eſtabliſh Governments amongſt themſelves, in the ſpecification of which, they were left to their own liberty and diſcretion, and therefore were not obliged to any ſingle form of Government. It muſt be underſtood, that the Precept which required the Sons of *Adam* and *Noah* to eſtabliſh Governments, required alſo every mans Submiſſion to their Orders, Laws, and Decrees, when eſtabliſhed.

Laſtly, We will conſider of the inſtances he gives of the Exerciſe of Soveraign Power by Fathers of Families, which are as impertinent to his purpoſe, as his Doctrine is groundleſs and precarious: But they are theſe: *Abraham*'s War, and *Judahs* Judgment upon *Thamar*.

As to the firſt, of *Abraham*'s making War; We ſay we cannot allow that making War doth argue any Soveraign Authority: It is ſufficient, that he who makes it is under none to

to make a vindicative War lawful. For an injured Perſon may, in the State of Nature, vindicate wrongs by an Authority derived from God and Nature to a juſt ſatisfaction: Becauſe there is no competent Judicature to appeal to for right and redreſs. But ſee how unhappy the Gentleman is! This very inſtance of his production, is clearly againſt him: For if Soveraign Power had been Patriarchal, *Abraham* had been guilty of Treaſon, in making War without a Commiſſion from *Melchizedech* the King of *Salem*, who, as the Learned men conjecture, was *Shem* his Patriarch and Chief, and known by him for ſuch. But becauſe *Abraham*, the beſt man perhaps in any Age, did not take a Commiſſion from *Melchizedech* his Patrialchal chief, and yet he was bleſſed by *Melchizedech* when here turned from the War; We may conclude, that neither *Melchizedech* nor *Abraham* knew of any ſuch Patriarchal Soveraignty. And alſo from this great Example it appears, that it is lawful for him that is not a Soveraign, if he be not under any, to make War.

I will not enter into a diſcourſe, whence and how is derived the Authority of making War and capital Sentences, (for the ſame reaſon muſt warrant both) which hath puzled ſome great Divines. Dr. *Hammond*, that great man, was at a loſs in this enquiry, and thinks that nothing but a Divine Authority can warrant them

them, which hath put them upon ſtrange extravagant Hypotheſes of Government, and ſent this Knights brains a Wool-gathering. But this may ſatisfie any man of ſence, That whatever is neceſſary for the general happineſs of Mankind, and for preſerving peace in the World, and protecting the innocent, and diſ-inabling the mighty oppreſſors, is more commendable to be done, than the killing a man in his own defence is ſimply lawful.

As to his ſecond inſtance of *Judah* his Sentence pronounced upon his Daughter-in-Law *Thamar*, which the Knight would have an exerciſe of Patriarchal Soveraign Authority; we ſay, how could *Judah* do this by a Patriarchal Power, when *Jacob* his Father was then alive, and for all that appears, *Judah* his Son was not extrafamiliated? Beſides, which is very unlucky, *Thamar* was then none of his Family, or of the Subjects of his Domeſtick Empire; for his Son her Husband being dead, ſhe was free from the Law of her Husband, and ceaſed to be a Subject of his Paternal Kingdom. But Mr. *Selden*, under the Authority of ſome Rabbins, which he cites in his excellent Book before-mentioned, *fol.*807. ſaith, That *Judah* might have the Office of a Prince or Magiſtrate in a diſtrict in that Country, and by that Authority might judg her according to the Laws of that Country. But what the Law was, and the Nature and Reaſon of her Offence, by which it became Capital, is not underſtood, as he tells us in

in the place before-cited. I ſhall not trouble the Reader with unfolding the matter.

But why doth he trouble himſelf to make Kings *Fathers of their Countries*? Some cannot be ſo, and ſome have no mind to be ſo; and yet they ought to be Kings. And ſome that have not been Kings, have been ſo, and ſo ſtyled; as the great *M. Tully*, for defeating the *Catiline*-Conſpiracy, was by decree of the Senate called *Pater Patriæ*. Thoſe are with reaſon truly called *Patres Patriæ*, which either relieve their Country from miſerable preſſures, which is the civil death of a Nation; and for this reaſon our King hath the honour of being called *Pater Patriæ*, and we hope that he will wear that honourable Title, upon a ſecond deliverance of us from a moſt deplorable condition.

Or elſe ſuch are called *Patres Patriæ*, who bring the Nation to an exalted ſtate of happineſs, ſo much beyond their old ſtate of things, that they ſeem to give the Nation a new civil Life, Being, and Birth.

For his etymological argument from the notation of the Word, it is too putid to be inſiſted upon, though not more ridiculous than his *Hypotheſis*.

But for that the reduction of our duty to our King to the fifth Commandment, may ſeem to give ſome advantage to this Hypotheſis, with Fathers who know no bounds of their power over their Children; It muſt be obſerved,

ed, that the Decalogue is not a compleat Rule of Morality. The Decalogue compriſed the Principal Laws of that Common-wealth which God their Law-giver by a moſt Solemn Act of his Legiſlation, did more awfully oblige them to obſerve.

God that time was their King; Rebellion was as Idolatry; and the ſin of Witchcraft, and the Defection of one of their Cities to Idolatry, was puniſhed as a revolt and Rebellion, *Deut.* 13. *v.* 15. He had provided for his Honour and Worſhip, and their Allegiance, in the firſt Table; and did deſign by the fifth Commandment to lay the Foundation of all poſitive morality, by providing for a Reciprocation of kindneſſes, by enjoyning the gratitude and fitting returns of Children to their Parents, and by putting Children under obligations to be taught and inſtructed by their Parents. But our duty to Governors is more duly referred to all the other Commandments, becauſe Government ſecures the obſervation of thoſe Laws to us, by which we enjoy our ſelves and ours, freed from the Volations of Luſt, Appetite, Fraud and Violence.

We do not honour our King by relief in his fortune, which is commanded to be done by our Parents in the precept of honouring them; our ſubſidies and Aids are not to that purpoſe, but contributions to the charges of the Government; they are the juſt price of our immunity and pro-

protection, from fraud and violence; for which cauſe pay we tribute.

But whatſoever he be, that hath more reſpect for this Knights Works than I have, may find him more gently treated by a very worthy Gentleman, in a very candid and judicious Book called, *Patriarcha non Monarcha.*

But what is the meaning of theſe flattering Books? they cannot but be nauſeous to His Majeſty, who is a very wiſe Prince, and knows how ſenſleſs ſuch Books are: and beſides, they make the People afraid, and the Nation unquiet, from the apprehenſions they give, that the Government will be changed. Notwithſtanding the King hath given ſuch ſolemn aſſurance to the Nation by his late Declaration, That we ſhall have frequent Parliaments, and that he will govern by Law.

They would have had a better market for the Divinity they beſtow upon Princes, with *Alexander* after he had loſt his Vertue, and with thoſe vile Emperours whoſe Names are *Regum opprobria*, for ſuch the flatterers of ancient times Deifyed: thoſe who had ceas'd to be men they made Gods, and when they had left nothing about them that was tolerable, they magnified their power, which was already moſt intolerable.

If the Kings hereafter would but read the Hiſtory of Kings, under that concluſion, that a wiſe obſerver of Humane Events made after

a long obſervation and experience, and would make Experiments of the truth of it in their own reading, Kings would be glorious, and the Nations they govern happy and full of peace. They would find therein ſo many effectual Documents to fear God and regard men, and govern them righteouſly. It is this:

Si Vitam ſpectes hominum, ſi deniq; Mores,
Artem vim fraudem, cuncta putes agere.
Si propius ſpectes, fortuna eſt arbitra Rerum.
Neſcis quid dicis, ſed tamen eſſe putas.
At penitus ſi introſpicias, & ultima primis
Connectas, ſolus rector in orbe Deus.
Alciat.

People can be no happier than Government and Laws deſign to make them, though they do not always anſwer the good deſignments of the Government.

To what purpoſe then are theſe new Hypotheſes fram'd and publiſhed? Kings are exempted by their Office, and the ſacredneſs of their perſons, from all fears, but the fears of Nature, and theſe can never be diſcharged. Thoſe who do ill, will fear ill eternally, though their power were made little leſs than omnipotent; for the frame of Humane Nature hath made it neceſſary to be ſo. Beſides, God hath made one thing againſt another: There is a divine *Nemeſis* interwoven in the nature of things.

things. And God will always govern the World.

Omne ſub regno duriore regnum.

The great Mogol at his Inauguration ſwears, That his People ſhall be at peace at home, and victorious abroad, afflicted neither with Plague nor Famine, but enjoy Health and Plenty all his days.

This ſeems extraordinary Pompous and Arrogant; but it means no more than this, that he will govern them ſo vertuouſly, that Gods Providence ſhall be always propitious to his People; and is no more in plain Engliſh, than what our Church offers up in her publick Prayers for the King, (*viz.*) *That he may govern us in Wealth, Peace, and Godlineſs*; that he may live long, and ſo govern us, ought to be every honeſt mans Prayers. But after all theſe vain Hypotheſes contrived for making Kings Abſolute, it will be more eaſie for Kings to make their Reigns unquiet, and turn their Kingdoms into Fields of blood.

But laſtly, to revive the ancient Zeal of the true Members of the Church of *England* againſt Popery: To rectify the miſtakes of ſome Gentlemen of the Clergy about the Diſſenters: And of our late Parliaments, and their proceedings in reference to them;

Let it be conſidered, how unreaſonable their

apprehenſions are of any danger to the Church of *England*, from the deſires of the Houſe of Commons, of ſome indulgence or toleration in favour of the Diſſenters at this time; eſpecially when the Proteſtant Religion is ſo ſhrewdly beſet: ſhe hath reaſon now ſure to take all ſuch for her Friends, that are heartily Enemies to Popery, though not ſo skilful as they ſhould be to ward off its aſſaults. Since the Papiſts preſume to call them Fanaticks, though exactly conformable to the Church of *England*, that will not aſſiſt to bring on the Popiſh Plot by diſ-believing it; and put us in fear of the Fanaticks, by taking all the courſes imaginable to provoke and exaſperate them, and to increaſe their diſcontents (which they maliciouſly heighten, and by falſhood and forgeries miſrepreſent:) To graft thereupon a Pretence of a Proteſtant Plot, for a pretext to extirpate Proteſtantiſm and introduce Popery, which they impudently pretend to be of a more firm Allegiance to the Government than the Reformed Religion.

I pray let it be conſidered, that that which is tolerated is put under diſgrace, even for that it is tolerated; and that which tolerates, even for that it tolerates, hath the governing Authority; and in ſo much as it indulgeth, it obligeth to modeſty and reaſon; and if that indulgence ſhould be abuſed, it may and will be retracted. It was never intended by the Houſe

of

of Commons, that the Church of *England* ſhould be altered or modelled to an agreeableneſs to any form or ſect of the Separation, or preſcrib'd to by any of the Diſſenters; or that ſhe ſhould be made ſubject to any of their rules or opinions, or her Liturgy laid aſide for Directories, or, which is worſe, undervalued to the prophane way of extemporizing: For as generally uſed and exerciſed, it deſerves no milder a ſtile. That *the Church ſhould always govern by her own Wiſdom in her own Province, and in thoſe things that appertain to her, can never be deny'd her.*

No man hath reaſon to ſay, though he hath great cauſe to diſlike the Separation, and to have a bad opinion of the Diſſenters, that he had rather ſubmit to Popery, than to any form of the Separation, for he need do neither except he pleaſeth. No man that thus expreſſeth himſelf, but will be ſuſpected to ſeek an occaſion and pretence to become a Papiſt, and to make a defection from the Church of *England.*

But if theſe Gentlemen have ſuch a diſpleaſure againſt Schiſm and Separation (which certainly is the worſt diſeaſe any Church can labour under, and at this time threatens the deſtruction as well of the Proteſtant Religion it ſelf, as it doth to the Profeſſors of all denominations) let this ſharpen their Zeal againſt Popery (which by its unhallowed arts hath occaſioned and exaſperated our Schiſm,) and put

them upon the use of all means to reconcile, if possible, the Schism, (that the Papists have already made, and by all means endeavour to continue) and take away, if possible, the occasion of it for the time to come: And thus defeat the Arts of the Priests and Jesuits for supplanting our Church.

It is a most deplorable thing, that our Church should be kept rent and divided, in danger of being lost, between Rituality and Scrupulosity.

Though the Scruples of the Nonconformists, which I always thought, and do still think groundless, and unreasonable, have often moved me into some passion against them; yet upon consideration, I think this their Scrupulosity may be of God, and that some men are by him framed to it. That he hath provided it, as a bar and obstacle in the Natures and Complexions of some devout men against any Innovations whatsoever, that dangerous ones may not steal upon the Church, for the better maintaining the simplicity and purity of the Christian Religion and Worship. But in saying this, I have said nothing that is apt to give them a conceit of themselves, but rather to humble them: For the best men are not govern'd by their Temper and Constitution, but correct them by their Reason, and determine themselves by a clear and firm Judgement.

What affrightment, all this while, either to Church or State, from this weak and pityable Scru-

Scrupulosity? Where lyes the Treason or Sacriledge, nay or so much as contumacy against our Ecclesiastical Governours, which is so much upbraided to them?

The Christian Religion may be prejudiced by addition to, as well as substraction from her rule: The Church of *Rome* by her additions hath almost evacuated the Christian Faith.

Besides, there may be a fineness in the outward mode of Religious Worship in it self very justifiable, which may be not congenial to men of a course make. The Worship of God will always savour of the manners of the people; men of dull capacity can scarce admit of any Ceremonies without danger of falling into superstition, or hardly escape being vext with endless and incurable scruples about them, until for ease of their minds they throw them off.

But the wisdom of the best Law-makers hath considered in giving Laws, what the people would bear, and not what is best to be enjoyned; and many things have been tolerated by them which they did not approve, *Ne majoribus malis detur occasio, aut etiam ne vilescant sine moribus leges.*

There is nothing more exposeth the Authority of Government to contempt, than a publick and an open neglect of its Injunctions. But where obedience to Laws is exacted under severe penalties, where it doth not greatly import the common good to have them observed,

that Government is unequal, and uſeth its Authority unjuſtifiably. *Leges cupiunt, ut jure regantur.*

The conſideration of the ſad effects the Schiſm in our Church hath occaſioned, the contempt that it hath brought upon our Eccleſiaſtical Governours. That Religion it ſelf is thereby made the ſcorn of Atheiſts. That the Papiſts are thereby furniſhed with matter of objection, reproach and ſcandal to the Reformation. That every Age ſince it begun hath heightned the malignity of the Schiſm. That it ſeems now to deſpiſe the Cure of the greateſt *Caſſanders*. Theſe conſiderations, I ſay, make it infinitely deſirable to have it utterly extinguiſhed.

There ſeems to be now left but one way of accommodating our Diviſions, and that is, that we do not hereafter make thoſe things wherein we differ matter and reaſon of Diviſion.

That the Children of the Light and Reformation, be at length as wiſe in this matter as the Church of *Rome*, which is at unity with it ſelf, under more and greater differences than thoſe that have troubled the peace of our Church; which is ſufficiently known to all Learned men.

Had it not been happy, that this Schiſm had been prevented by the uſe of the power of the Church in Eccleſiaſtical diſpenſations? If no Law had been made touching the mat-

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ters that gave the first occasion to the Schism, it had been in the Power of the Church to have prevented it. No good Bishop but would have relaxed the Canons that enjoyned these Ceremonies (about whose lawfulness there hath been so much Zeal mispent, and unwarrantable heat and contention raised) for the sake of peace, and preservation of the Unity of the Church, to men peaceable, and otherwise obedient to her injunctions. *So dangerous it is to make Laws in matters of Religion, which takes the conduct of Religion in so much from the Guides of the Church.*

The beginning of contention is like the breaking out of waters, saith the wise man; and they are assoon as begun, more easily ended. Before the Contenders have exasperated one another with mutual severities and contumelies, which at every return increase, until both sides lose either their Vertue, or the Reputation of it.

Can any man imagine that any prejudice can accrew to the Church of *England*, if she did enlarge her Communion by making the conditions of it more easie? especially if this may be done without annulling any of her institutions, which the better instructed Christians will always, and the Weak may in time devoutly observe. But till they can, they may be received and retained of her Communion, and not be rejected by her censures, though they

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do not ſubmit to all of them at preſent. Will it be any prejudice, that the Number of her Biſhops be increaſed, and that Suffragans be appointed or approved by the preſent Biſhops, *in partem ſollicitudinis*, as was enacted by the Statute 26 *H.* 8. cap. 14. Which Law was repealed by 1, 2 *P. M.* and revived by 8 *Eliz.* cap. 1. Theſe Suffragans were not intended to participate of their Honours or Revenues. Had it not been much more eligible to have diſpenced with invincible Scruples, rather than a Schiſm ſhould have been occaſioned, which the longer it continues will be more incurable, and with greater difficulty accommodated, as it grows likewiſe more miſchievous? *Is it fit that the peace ſhould be hazarded, or the Nation put with reaſon or without reaſon in fear of it: Or a Kingdom turned into a Shambles for a Ceremony, or a Ritual in our publick Worſhip, which if omitted would leave the exerciſe of it ſolemn and decent?* For no man knows the obſtinacy of inveterate prejudices, founded perhaps in the very Complexions and Natures of the Diſſenters, hardned alſo in their way by obſerving how little effect Laws have had for reducing their Numbers, and alſo how unpracticable any Severity is in the preſent broken and diſtracted ſtate of the Nation. Why may not Standing at the *Sacrament* be tolerated, (though Kneeling is the devouteſt geſture, and to me moſt agreeable) when it is a poſture of Prayer enjoyned in the Primitive Church, in their

ſolemn

ſolemn Meetings for Divine Worſhip, between the Feaſts of *Eaſter* and *Whitſontide*? Why may not the ſigning of the Croſs in *Baptiſm* for the ſake of Peace and Unity, be diſpenſed with where deſired, when the *Sacrament* is entire without it? Why may not our publick *Liturgie* be changed and altered, though it may be defended as it is, and as it is, entertains the devotions of the beſt men, meerly for this reaſon, becauſe it is not liked in ſome parts of it by ſome men, yet truly devout? Beſides, it is the wiſh of ſome excellent perſons of the Church of *England*, that our publick Offices were more, and thoſe we have not ſo long; and that the Church had a greater Treaſury of Prayers, and by variety of Forms for the ſame Office, were enlarged in her ſpirit of Prayer, and her publick Devotions heightned. Why may not the *Rubrick* be altered as general ſcruples ſhall ariſe, by the Authority of the Church? this would not leſſen her Authority, but advance the eſteem of her Wiſdom in the exerciſe of it, when ſhe uſeth it for edification.

It is much better ſure to give place to an innocent opinion, when entertained by conſiderable Numbers, though a miſtake, than to keep up contention and ſtrife. Peace in the Church is better than preciſe and nice Orthodoxneſs; and Union is to be preferred before unneceſſary Truth, which is of no more importance to our Salvation, than one of *Euclids* Propoſitions,

positions, though to be sure not so certain, and of less use.

The business of the Church is not to make men great Clerks, to improve us to the subtilty of the Schools; but to build men up in the Faith and Love of God, by which they may be instructed to every good Work. Her aim is not to make men courtly in their behaviour in our Churches, but truly devout: and true devotion will never fail to make the Publick Worship solemn, and advance it beyond a decent formality.

But I would not be mistaken; it is not the Dissenters I intend to befriend, but the Church of *England*: for as for them, I declare I have no liking to any thing they say or do; and am especially dissatisfied with their very bad manners. It is difficult to abstain from an invective, but that I think it would be thrown away upon them, and that they are at present incorrigible. This is not the season for instructing their Wisdoms; we must wait for the *mollia tempora fandi*. I thus conclude, since that excellent person the Dean of *Pauls* hath been treated by them with such petulancies and rude insults, for his Sermon of the mischiefs of Separation. If a discourse managed with almost irresistable reason, candour, temper and Address, be matter of exasperation, and they turn again, and are more hardned in their obstinacies, and become more confirmed

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in their ſeparating way, nothing but their own thoughts, and the conſideration in what a deſperate condition they have brought the Reformed Religion by their Separation, will reclaim them.

But it is expected that Governments ſhould be wiſe, that they manage and controul the Follies and Weakneſſes of thoſe committed to their care, that they may do the leaſt miſchief to themſelves and others, and by prudent and practicable methods amend and reform them. The moſt froward, weiward, and ſtubborn Children give their Parents the moſt care, and opportunities of exerciſing the moſt tender love for them, though they can take no complacency in their awkerdneſs. The Church of *England* is concerned to retain all her Children in her Family, to ſhut out none by abdication; that their numbers be not few, and ſhe be aſhamed when ſhe ſpeaks with her Enemy in the Gate. Not to provoke any of them to wrath, leſt they forſake her, and turn againſt her when diſtreſſes ſhall come upon her. She hath reaſon at this time ſure to make her Diſcipline eaſie, and to learn of the Church of *Rome* to be more comprehenſive. Their Doctrine of comprehenſion is ſo large, that it deſtroys the Religion to increaſe the number of Profeſſors: but I mean no more, than that poſitive and alterable inſtitutions may give place to the peace, ſecurity, and preſervation of Religion it ſelf,

to

to whose service they were first fram'd and design'd.

It hath been heretofore, of old it hath been said, *Mores Leges in potestatem pertraxerunt suam.* *Plato* formed an *Idea* to himself of a Commonwealth, without respect to the manners of men; but he writ another, which he calls, ὑς κατθεσίας that is to say, accommodated and fitted to the manners of the people, and such as they would bear. *Origen*, in his Book against *Celsus*, applies to *Moses* the Answer of a famous Law-giver, who asked, εἰ τὰς καλλίστας ἔθετο τοῖς πολίταις νόμους, *i.e.* whether those Laws he had given to his Citizens were the best? the answer was, ὐ τὰς καθαπὰξ καλλίστας ἀλλ' ὧν ἐδύνατο τὰς καλλίστας, *i.e.* not simply the best, but the best they would bear. And we all know what God permitted to the *Jews*, in the matter of Divorce, for the hardness of their Hearts. When all is said, *People must be governed as they can.*

But in the mean time, it is pity any of our zeal and indignation should be mispent, when we have use for it all against the Church of *Rome*, the source whence all our Divisions spring. To which we owe the first Separations that were made in our Church; which appears by undeniable Records, published by Dr. *Stillingfleet*, in his Book called the *Unreasonableness of Separation.* How they have propagated, multiplied, exasperated, and promoted our Divisions, to tell you, would make a Volume; besides, no Protestant is now to know it. I have only this further

ther to obſerve, that the Church of *Rome* at firſt only deſigned by the Arts of dividing us, and breaking us into ſeveral Communions, to diſgrace the Reformation, to make our ſpiritual Governours, Paſtors, and Teachers, loſe their Authority with the People: To deprave our Religion with licentious opiniaſtre, and abſurd dogmatizing; to load our departure from that Church, with the miſchief of innumerable Schiſms; and to make us reconcilable to the Tyranny and Impoſtures of that Church, from the vain opinions and licentiouſneſs of the Sectaries, who have been ſeduced, managed, inflamed, and made wild by their impoſturous Arts and Deceits.

This, I believe, was only at firſt deſigned by the Prieſts, but now they apparently deſign by the Diſſenters to deſtroy the Church, or by the Church to deſtroy the Diſſenters, that they more eaſily come to rights with her. They imagine the Diſſenters are very numerous, and that the Nation is fallen into two great parts; that the Diſſenters numbers are vaſt. But God be thanked, they neither make our Grand Jurymen, nor the common Halls of the City of *London*, for chuſing the Lord-Mayors or Sheriffs. And I challenge any man to give me a Liſt of all the Names of Diſſenters that were of the Houſe of Commons in our two laſt Parliaments: I am ſure they will not make a Number: but they reckon the Numbers of Diſſenters, by the

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care they have taken to increaſe it. They uſed great art to continue the Separation when His Majeſty was reſtored: Since, Laws have been made to raiſe the Animoſities of Diſſenters, but ſcarce ever executed for repreſſing them. If for any reaſon of State the Laws here and there, and for a ſpurt, have been exacted, ſecret comforts and ſupports have been given to their Preachers of greateſt Authority with them. And when they have ſeem'd to preach with the courage and zeal of Confeſſors to their Auditors, they have not only been aſſured of indempnity, but have received rewards. How proſperouſly did the work of Separation go on by theſe Councils of our *Achitophels!* by theſe means they concluded it would be heightned, that it would admit of no terms of an accommodation. How inſolent were their Harangues! more taking with their deluded Auditors, while they apprehended them acted with an invincible zeal of Religion. What Animations did their People receive to defy the Church and her Authority, when their Preachers deſpiſed Fines and Impriſonment, to their ſeeming, out of pure zeal againſt her Order!

It is well known, ſeveral of them were in Penſion; and no men have been better received by the D. than *J. J. J.O. E.B.* and *W. P.* &c. Ringleaders of the Separation. Beſides that Popiſh Prieſts have been taken and executed for preaching in Field-meetings in *Scotland.* They have raiſed

raiſed there a ſort of *Enthuſiaſts* more wild and miſchievous than any we had amongſt us in the times of licentiouſneſs. They have had, notwithſtanding, great Lords that have patronized them, who were always well received in their applications in their favour, at St. *James's*; and ſeveral of their Preachers, who were not Prieſts, have received Exhibition and Penſions for their encouragement. It was neceſſary that the Fanaticiſm planted in *Scotland*, ſhould be very loathſome, to make that Nation abate any of their zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, or to neglect their fears and apprehenſions of Popery, or to make the leaſt ſtep towards it.

Awake, you drowſie Sleepers, open your eyes! the Sun is riſen, there is light enough to fill your ſight, if you would look up, and were willing to ſee. Could any thing be conceived more apt to bring the Church of *England* into contempt and ſcorn with thoſe of the Separation, than to have Laws made in her favour, penal Laws which are thought to be of her procurement, and not executed? Vain and ineffective anger is always returned with contumely, ſcorn, and hatred: *Cupide conculcatur nimis ante metitum.* And ſo it hath ſucceeded in this caſe; nothing hath been more paſſable than the baſeſt ſcurrility upon the Church, the Biſhops, and the Clergie. The Atheiſt, the impious and profane, have liſted themſelves Fanaticks, that they might have the greater Liberty of reviling Religion it ſelf with impunity.

Consider how the Church of *England* is used, which is truly the Bulwark of the Protestant Religion. About ten years since, they designed to slight her works, and demolish her, by a general Indulgence and Toleration: And now they intend to destroy her Garrison, those that can and will defend her against Popery. By one of their Pamphleteers, the Separation is called an Usurpation upon the Government; and all the Dissenters (as such only) Rebels, and Traiterous to the King. The same Gentleman would perswade the world, that the ready way to extirpate Popery, is by rooting out of Fanaticism; whether (saith he) the Fanaticks bring on the Jesuits Plot, or the Jesuits the Fanaticks, is not a farthing matter: But in the mean time, that the Papists have a Plot on foot, needs no proof. That any sort of Protestants are engaged in a Plot, cannot be proved: But all honest Protestants of the Church of *England*, think it more righteous to punish the Deceivers, and pity the Deceived, and wish them only cut off that make Divisions. It is one way of curing, or rather of extinguishing the Disease, to kill the Patient; but no Prince did ever yet provide Cut-throats for his People, in epidemical Diseases, instead of Physicians.

But if the Papists could arm other Protestants against Dissenters, there would be the less work for Papists to do: And they will be sure to requite them for this Favour with *Polyphemus* his Courtesie.

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For, to give the Devil his due, they are not themſelves ſo fond of Maſſacres and deſtruction of Hereticks, as to envy that employment to any other that will undertake it. They had rather any other party of men ſhould do the drudgery for them. Beſides, what one ſort of Proteſtants ſhall execute upon another, will give them better pretence and more hardineſs (if they wanted either Pretence or Reſolution to deſtroy ſuch as they call Hereticks) to execute the like deſtruction upon the Church-Proteſtants, who certainly differ more from the Papiſts, than the Separatiſts do from our Church. Surely there is good reaſon they ſhould be more ſharply treated by the Papiſts, than they treated the Diſſenters. And if they are in ſuch ſort uſed, they muſt lay their hands upon their mouths, and be ſilent before their Perſecutors, and acknowledge the righteous Judgment of God, in bringing ſuch tribulation upon them, from their Enemies, wherewith they troubled their own Brethren.

But there are better ways ſure of putting an end to the Popiſh Plot, than by putting it in Execution for them; That is to ſay,

By ſuppreſſing that contumacy that is grown ſo rife in the Diſſenters, againſt the Church of *England*, by putting the revilers of her Eſtabliſhment and Order under the ſevereſt Penalties.

By the Church her condeſcention and indulgences to thoſe that are weak and ſcrupulous,

and the peaceable Diſſenters, ſuch Condeſcention will not abate, but magnifie her Authority.

The Church of *England* will not be by this means loſt, but her Governance preſerv'd, eſpecially if the Relaxation that ſhall be made proceeds from her *ex mero motu*, and is not impoſed upon her by any ſecular Authority. Nay, ſhe will become by this means more ample and venerable. What Glories will then ſhine upon the heads of the Biſhops! We ſhall all riſe up and call them bleſſed. They will attain an ἀπθίωσις here, and receive divine Honours while they live. Their Order will be recovered into the higheſt Veneration, and it will never be after a queſtion in the *Engliſh* Church, whether the Order of Biſhops be Apoſtolical.

The Parliament will make all Laws yield and comply to ſuch happy, peaceable, and gratious Intendments. All the people will honour them as their common Saviours, that ſhall thus ſnatch us from the very brink of Ruine, and render the deſigns of the implacable Enemies of the Church, ready to take effect to the deſtruction of our Religion and Nation, utterly defeated.

But what puniſhments can we think too ſevere upon any, that ſhall be guilty of ſuch inſolent Iniquity, as not to allow that Liberty to the Church, which they ſeek as a favour from her to themſelves; that will not let the Church eſcape their Cenſures, when ſhe graciouſly exempts them

them from her Cenſures, and pities their Errors and Follies? What Fines and Impriſonments, Pillories and Scourgings, do they deſerve, that perſecute the Church with Revilings, when they themſelves are tolerated? Their condemnation muſt be juſt, whatever their doom be, themſelves being Judges. They will ſuffer as evil doers, and diſturbers of the peace, not for their Religion, but for a moſt extravagant and intolerable unrighteouſneſs. They who will not tolerate others, are themſelves for that reaſon moſt intolerable: Againſt theſe our Laws are to be ſharpned, and their iniquities to be puniſhed by a Judge. But the Statute of 35 *Eliz.* which puniſheth diſſatisfaction, and peaceable withdrawings from the publick Worſhip with Exile and Death, declares how odly the buſineſs of the Separation hath been managed, and with what diſadvantages to the Church; as it doth alſo the impracticableneſs of Laws, that make perhaps invincible prejudices, and modeſt and peaceable diſſatisfactions, capitally criminal. The execution of this Law is ſcarce poſſible. It is by no means agreeable, either to the Chriſtian temper of our Church, or his Majeſties great Clemency, of which he hath aſſured us in the general courſe of his Reign. And eſpecially for that, that Law hath been very rarely proceeded upon. A Gentleman that lay in *Cambridge*-Goal, under the Judgment of that Law, was reprieved by his Majeſty, with a great diſlike expreſſed by him

againſt that and ſuch like ſeverities. Whatever extravagances of a few wild Fanaticks of that Age occaſioned that Law, the ſtate of the Separation and of the Nation being quite altered from what it was then, the execution of this Law now, would be ſomething like a Sheriffs ſerving a Writ out of date in another County, which can have no effect but miſchief to himſelf.

While our Diſſenters are thus reaſonably indulged, and ſtrictly obliged to their peaceable behaviour, they can give no apprehenſions to the Government, either in Church or State. This is all that is deſigned, and all that they ought to have. This certainly would be readily yielded them in this preſent juncture eſpecially, if the Evils of the late unhappy times did not ſtand upon their ſcore.

But I perſwade my ſelf, that as this courſe, if it had been heretofore taken, would have prevented one great cauſe of our late Troubles; ſo it will in ſuch meaſure prevent them from returning, as the Separation can be accounted the cauſe of them.

As for the Sacriledge and Spoil which was then made upon our Church, it could never have hapned, but upon the diſſolution of the Government, nor can it ever happen again.

That War would have been impoſſible, if the Church-men had not maintained the Doctrine, that Monarchy was *Jure Divino*, in ſuch a ſence that

that made the King abſolute; and they and the Church in conſequence periſhed by it.

But God be thanked, we ſee the Church again reſtored to her endowments, grown wiſer than to deſire to hold that precarioufly, and at pleaſure, ſhe doth enjoy by an unmovable legal Right. Of the three Eſtates of this Kingdom (for to ſuſpect any ſuch thing of the King, would be unpardonable Blaſphemy) there can be no reaſonable ſuſpition: Though of the Houſe of Commons it is become now lawful to ſuſpect, and ſay any thing that is evil. But no man but the Villains that deſign by diſhonouring them to change the Government, hath reaſon to entertain ſuch a thought. The Members of the Houſe of Commons in our lateſt Parliaments, were all, upon the matter, entirely conformable to the Church of *England*. They were perſons of the beſt Eſtates, Reputation, and Honour in their Countries: And they, or ſuch as they, are like to make our ſucceeding Parliaments.

I have leave to put them under the imprecation of the ſevereſt Curſe, if ever they do ſacrilegiouſly impair the Church of her Revenues. And I deſire it may be aſſiſted with the hearty and paſſionate deſires of all good Chriſtians, that ſo the Curſe I now pronounce may operate upon them who ſhall incur it. *He that deſigns, contrives, or conſents to ſpoil the Church of any of her Endowments: May a ſecret Curſe waſte his Subſtance; Let his Children be Vaga-*

bonds, and beg their bread in desolate places.

Besides, I know it is meditated, and designed by many, and the best men, that use to be sent to Parliaments, to redeem in part that infamous Sacriledge that was committed in the times of *H.* 8. Then Rectories appropriate to Religious Houses, which had by Appropriations the cure of the Parish, that ought after the dissolution of the Monasteries to be presented to, were vested in the Crown; whereby not only the Church was robbed, but the People cheated of their Tythes, which were theirs to give, though not to retain, their *Præmium* for the Priests Ministrations; which are now often most slenderly, and sometimes scandalously performed. As also to disincumber her Revenue of the Charges and Impositions of First-fruits and Tenths, which were imposed and exacted by the Pope, upon his pretence of being the œcumenical Pastor and High-Priest of the Christian Church; and at that time likewise conferred upon the Crown, and are as unreasonably continued, as any thing can be that hath a Law for a pretext.

But for this, a Compensation may be given to the Crown; and some way will be found out for augmentation of Vicaridges and re-indowment of Churches that lost all in that unparallel'd Sacriledge, committed by the unsatiable Avarice of that haughty and luxurious Prince. These designs employ the care of a great number

ber of our principal Gentlemen, to purge the ſin and diſhonour brought upon the Nation by that extraordinary King.

But if there were reaſon for any fear, that the Nation could again incur the guilt of Sacriledge, What warranty can this give to any of the Clergy of our Church to ſlack or abate the Zeal that is due for the purity of her Doctrine, prudence of her Diſcipline, and her commendable, decent, and intelligible Devotion? Are they worthy to be named of her, that are ready to diſſert her, out of fear of a remote poſſibility that ſhe may not always have ſuch Largeſſes to give as ſhe now beſtows upon her Sons? Will they prefer the gift to the Altar, and declare all their Godlineſs to be Gain? To ſuffer Popery for ſuch a conſideration to be induced upon her, is a far worſe and more deteſtable Sacriledge than that they pretend to fear. This is to make the *Anathemata* of the Temple to inſerve to the diſhonour of the *Numen.* To deſecrate the Altar for the ſake of the gift: And will by the juſt Judgment of God (I fear) bring the abomination of deſolation again into our holy places.

Let none of her Sons, for the obtaining a Dignity, or a capacity for a double Benefice, betray her by neglecting her intereſt, thinking with themſelves that ſhe will otherwiſe be ſupported; for this their doings is no leſs than the ſin of *Judas*, who took money to betray our Lord, imagining,

gining that he would by a Miracle reſcue himſelf from the hands of thoſe to whom he ſold and betrayed him.

The honeſt of our Clergy will have little ſatisfaction when that day comes. When they ſhall be reduced to Prayers and Tears, if they are failing in any thing that they may lawfully do to prevent that miſerable ſtate, their Tears will be as water ſpilt upon the ground; and their Prayers will never find acceptance with God, nor be returned into their own boſom.

Diſce Miſer pigris, non flecti numina, votis.
Præſentemq; adhibe, dum facis ipſe, Deum.

But above all, thoſe fine men are not to paſs unreproved, who are preparing pretences for their Revolt to the *Roman* Church. They tell us, that the Reformation is depraved, and Popery it ſelf is much amended ſince the Reformation; that it is not ſo groſly ſuperſtitious, (though her Superſtitions are ſtill enough to ſtifle Religion) nor ſo fabulous in her Legends, (ſhe need make no new ones, ſince ſhe gives authority ſtill to the old) nor ſo impoſturous in her cheats (for her Prieſts have not been *Hocus-pocuſſes* of late, uſed ſo many tricks of Legerdemain, and preſented their Puppet-plays of moving and ſqueaking Images) ſince the Reformation, as before.

But they may know, that the reaſon why we have not maintained the dignity of the Reformation

mation intire, is this; for that Popery hath not been utterly extirpated from amongſt us, though their frequent Treaſons, and their notorious ſeductions have deſerved it.

By its continuance amongſt us, and the reſorts of their Prieſts hither, it hath created and fomented Diviſions amongſt us, and corrupted her Children from their obedience to her guidance and inſtructions: But ſhe her ſelf is ſtill the ſame ſhe was, the Reformation of the Church is ſtill intire. She hath made good her departure from the Church of *Rome*; her Adverſaries have not been able to convict her of any fault therein, and by an eaſie victory ſhe hath triumphed over all their oppoſitions and contradictions.

And though Popery appear not altogether ſo deformed, by her Prieſts artificial Dreſs, and the Repreſentations they make of her to ſeduce us, and entice us to come again under her Yoke; yet we know ſhe hath more eſtabliſhed her Tyranny by the Council of *Trent*, and more corrupted her Morals by her modern Caſuiſts ſince the Reformation, and thereby hath rendred her ſelf more deteſtable, and for ever to be avoided.

But though it may be true, that the Popiſh world is beholden to the Reformation, and Popery it ſelf is thereby amended in ſome overt things, and reformed in thoſe Countries that have not reformed from her. For in the Light of the Reformation they have ſeen Light, and have been aſhamed of ſome of their works

of

of darkneſs, and do not bring into preſent uſe ſome of their moſt groſs Impoſtures, and ſome worſe than Pagan Superſtitions. Yet when this light is extinguiſh'd, it will be a moſt diſmal and eternal Night upon the Chriſtian world. If we return to her, our Ears will be bored, and we ſhall be irredeemably enſlaved.

The ſpirit of Popery, if it returns and poſſeſſeth us again, that hath been walking in the reformed Countries as in dry places, ſeeking reſt and finding none, and finds us thus ſwept and garniſht, will bring with it ſeven Devils more wicked than it ſelf, and our laſt eſtate will be worſe than the firſt.

The Pride, Cruelty and Avarice, Domination and Luxury of their Prieſthood, will be aggravated upon us, and the minds of the Laity more lowly depreſſed by Superſtition and Ignorance. The Goſpel of Cardinal *Palavicini* will be the Canon of the Chriſtian Religion, or it may be ſomething worſe; for who can tell what will be the Religion that that Church will offer in proceſs of time to the world under the Chriſtian-Name? When the Pope by his pretended infallibility may make the Chriſtian Religion what he pleaſe, by interpreting, adding, altering, or detracting with an uncontroulable Authority. For us therefore to become Papiſts, to return to the Church of *Rome*, acknowledge the Popes Infallibility, (there is no other way to become Papiſts) is virtually to betray the Chriſtian Faith, to renounce our Allegiance to our Lord Chriſt, to prefer the Bulls of a pro-

profane Pope, to the holy Oracles of God, and the Revelation of Jesus, God blessed for ever.

With this Religion therefore we can never make an accommodation; we may as well make a Covenant with Hell. This (as Dr. *Jackson*, one of the glories of the Church of *England*, in his Book called *The Eternal Truth of Scriptures*, vehemently admonisheth us) admits no terms of parley for any possible reconcilement: whose following words to this purpose, I shall here transcribe.

The natural separation of this Island from those Countries wherein this Doctrine is professed, shall serve as an everlasting Emblem of the Inhabitants divided Hearts, at least in this point of Religion: And let them, O Lord, be cut off speedily from amongst us, and their Posterity transported hence, never to enjoy again the least good thing this Land affords: Let no print of their Memory be extant so much as in a Tree or Stone within our Coast. Or let their Names, by such as remain here after them, be never mentioned, or always to their endless shame: Who living here amongst us, will not imprint these or the like wishes in their Hearts, and daily mention them in their Prayers.

Littora Littoribus contraria, fluctibus undas,
Imprecor arma armis, pugnent ipsiq; Nepotes.
Which he thus renders.

Let

Let our, & forein Coasts, joyn Battel in the Main,
E're this foul Blasphemy *Great Britain ever stain.*
Where never let it come, but floating in a Flood,
Of our, our Nephews, and their Childrens blood.

I shall only subjoyn my hearty Desires and Prayers, that we may all fear God, and be zealous for his true Religion. Honour the King, and firmly adhere to the Government, and in our several places steadily oppose and resist those Villains that are given to change. That by our Union we may defeat the crafty designs of our cruel and implacable Enemies, who if they can continue those Divisions they have made amongst us by their wicked Arts, will certainly at length destroy us; who are bent upon our destruction, though they themselves perish with us, we cease to be a Nation, and our Language be forgotten in a foreign Captivity.

Sir,

Now I have given you my Answer to your Reasons, to dissuade me from publishing the Argument for the Bishops; by representing how few of the Clergy can with reason be thought guilty of Opinions so mischievous to the Church and State, which you charge to have generally corrupted them; and how easily and with little consideration they will be laid aside by them.

I will make no other Apologie for the publishing this, than that I have communicated these thoughts to no Man alive, either of the Church of

of *England*, or any other denomination, or consulted any mans advice about it. That I can serve to design of no party of men herein, nor any particular design of my own: I wish they can be serviceable in the least degree to publick good. I have had them by me a great while, and have considered them under the several varieties of temper that our bodies are disposed to, which induce different thoughts, and various apprehensions in most things, under the several passions that the fluctuation of publick affairs have occasioned; under the Ebbs and Flows of Hopes and Fears in reference to the state of the Kingdom, for some length of time. And finding them to have the same appearance, and to give me the same satisfaction in all their several postures, and the views that I could take of them. I assure my self I was sincere when I thought, and that they result meerly from my Judgment (such as it is) uncorrupted. That I am not perverted or biassed by any secret passion or desire of any sort, which many times lurk and steal upon us, deceive us unawares, and undiscernedly abuse us. Sir, the sum of my Apologie is this; that I know my self sincere, of honest Intentions, moved by nothing but a hearty love and affection to our King, Religion, and Country: And for what any man shall think of me, I am not Solicitous.

Yours, *T. H.*

The

The Great and Weighty

CONSIDERATIONS

Relating to the

Duke of York,

OR

Succeſſor of the Crown,

Offered to the KING, and both Houſes of Parliament:

CONSIDERED.

WITH

An ANSWER to a LETTER from a Gentleman of Quality in the Country to his Friend, relating to the Point of Succeſſion to the Crown.

Whereunto is added,

A ſhort HISTORICAL COLLECTION touching the ſame.

LONDON:

Printed for the Author, and are to be Sold by the Bookſellers of *London* and *Weſtminſter*. 1682.

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LONDON:

Printed for the Publisher, and are to be Sold by the Booksellers of Stamford, 1682.

TO THE READER.

I *Have in the* Poſtſcript *offered Reaſons of the* Lawfulneſs *of an Act of* Excluſion, *which to all* true Proteſtants *muſt needs be deſirable, if it can be lawfully* obtained. *Yet for the farther* ſatisfaction *of* unthinking people, *and Men of* weak Minds, (*who are never certain,* (*eſpecially in* great Matters) *where Men of* Note *are divided in their* Opinions; *but for that very Reaſon, where they have no* direct Reaſon *to guide them in forming their* Judgment, *remain* ſcrupulous, *if not* doubtful; *and for that they* doubt, *they muſt therefore conclude the Matter, as to themſelves, at leaſt* unlawful) *I have* Reprinted *theſe* Diſcourſes, (*that were Printed near three years ſince, in* An-

swer *to two* Books, *written by two* Eminent Persons; *the first supposed to be writ by a great* Secretary, *the other by a* notable Lawyer *thereto employed, under* promises *and* expectations *of great* Preferments. *This mans* Book *especially, is highly applauded by the* Ducal Party; *his very words made the stile of the* Act of Parliament *in* Scotland *for the* Recognition *of the* unalterableness of the Descent of the Crown, *and his* Book *accounted unanswerable, and the whole Cause, by the* Asserters *of this* Doctrine, *put upon the force and consequence of his* Reasonings. *And indeed, I have seen nothing so considerable, made publick and offered to the World, for the defence of the* unalterable Right of the Descent of the Crown, *as are the* reasons *of these two* Books *which we have considered in these following* Discourses.) *To the end that the* reasons *against the Bill of* Exclusion, *as well as the* reasons *for it, being duly examined together, no honest man may from a doubtful* Conscience

be any longer under a neceſſity of ſuffering the Miſchiefs of a Popiſh Succeſſour, *which will be more* intolerable *when they come to be* felt, *than any imagination can* ſuggeſt, *or any* words *can* expreſs.

True it is, the Moſt *cannot conſider duly of a* Matter, *and determine upon it, by their own proper* Reaſonings *and* Diſcourſings: *and yet they have ſo much* reaſon *as to think, That where* Doctors *differ they have reſpectively their* reaſons *for their* different opinions, *though they themſelves do not apprehend them; and conſequently at leaſt* doubt, *and of what they* doubt *they conclude* unlawful.

Yet even the Moſt *may judge what* weight *and* moment *the* reaſons *and* arguments *upon which each* party *ground their* Concluſions *are of, if they are truly, clearly, and nakedly propounded, reflected upon, and made fit for their* Judgment *and* Capacity: *and they may thereby be brought to diſcharge their* doubt, *and determine with clear* ſatisfaction, *in any matter ſo diſ-*

cussed, if they will honestly and duly consider.

I perswade my self, I have by the reflections I have made upon the Discourses of these two renowned Authors, prepared their Reasonings for the judgment of the ordinary sort of men, if honest. To such, their Arguments must appear so frivolous, as they will conclude these Authors downright Advocates for the Popish Superstition and Cruelty, under the thin pretences of defending, That a Successour to the Crown, by an ordinary and common right, cannot be Excluded by an Act of State. Such a Successour, who (if he be not a Papist, yet) hath openly departed from our Church, in which he was born, and for which his Father suffered Martyrdome; and for the preserving the Peace of Three Kingdoms, disdains to tell us he is a Protestant; and neglects the direful Imprecations of his Grand-Father; though no Curses are so operative, as those of Parents upon their Children, upon weighty causes so-

solemnly pronounced: These can kill at the Root *the most* flourishing *and* prolifical Families, *make their* Root rottenness, *and their* Blossom *to go up as dust*; Omnem vastant stirpemque domumque.

Δεινὰι τὸι κατ' γαίαν Ἐρίννυες εἰσὶ τοκήων.

And therefore I have caused these reflections *to be Reprinted, if happily they may conduce any thing towards a full information of my doubting* honest Countrymen, *in a matter so weighty; and consequently, towards the prevention of the* effusions *of* English Blood, *in* Wars, Massacres, *and* Martyrdomes, *and of the lawless, violent, and* bloody attempts *to be made for the* Extirpation *of the* Reformed Religion *Establisht amongst us by* Law, *by the* Romanists. *And lastly, towards the re-establishment of our* Government *and* Nation *in* Peace *and* Tranquillity *again, which are now most miserably distracted, by the fears of a* Popish Successour, *and by the* Doubts *about* Excluding *him.*

If we did not doubt without reason *of the lawfulness of Excluding a* Popish Successour, *we should have* no reason *to fear him.*

The Great and Weighty

CONSIDERATIONS, &c. CONSIDERED.

WHatever is the subject matter upon which we exercise our thoughts, or whereupon we make our Enquiries, doth not make the Considerations of slight and vain Men GREAT and WEIGHTY. A man of slender Endowments doth not commence to be Wise, as soon as matters of great Moment take up his Thoughts. But if he be of such a make, as renders him capable of being in any degree wise, he is affected with an ingenuous Shame, finding the matters too hard for his Capacity, and above his reach: He is displeased and dissatisfied with his own dark, indistinct, and confused Conceptions, in which he himself can receive no satisfaction: he suspends, and determines nothing, but that he doth not understand the matter, and resorts with deference to those who are wiser than himself.

But there is a sort of Arrogant Fools who trouble the World, make it difficult to understand plain Truth, confound the Notions of things

things, blend things of remote distances in their nature together, or put one thing for another that have no affinity to each other; puzzle and perplex the minds of the Weak.

These deserve the Indignation of the better sort of Judgments, who cannot but be impassioned while they see a great part of mankind abused to their hurt. By the villanous practices of some, designed to the endurance of the greatest mischiefs; and by a sort of silly Knaves attempted upon, for deceiving them into a permission of all the pretended evils to come upon them; who presumptuously use their little Wit to ensnare the Consciences, to perplex the Minds of the Multitude by Objections puzzling to the weak, by such Reasonings, as none but fools could think of, and none but bold Knaves would offer to the World: Such I take to be every immodest man who will adventure, not from his Understanding, and therefore from his Will, and consequently his Interest, to speak things that have no consequence, and are not induc'd by the Laws of Reasoning and Discourse; that have a tendency to dispose men to scruple of Conscience, and make them doubtful and unactive against the evils of the greatest size that are design'd against them, and to neglect or resist the Counsels of God against themselves, and fatally fall under the designed evils, notwithstanding they are provided of a just and allowable Remedy against them.

There are, and ever was, and ever will be, in the

the trouble of Mankind, a ſort of literate fools (who will always obtain ſome reputation with the ſtupid admiring Vulgar) made by Nature to little Underſtanding, and who have loſt that little for want of uſing it; who by Books good or bad, it matters not much, become greater Fools than they could have been, if left to ſimple Nature; who by imperfect remembrances, and undue joyning of things more imperfectly underſtood, make moſt perverſe Judgments in all things they are converſant about. And if it happen that by their Complexion they prove forward, and are opinionated of their falſe Learning, they obtrude upon the World their unnatural, monſtrous, and incoherent Conceptions. And if they chance to mix their Diſcourſes with paſſages of Holy Scriptures, and thereby entitle Religion to their Abſurdities, they more powerfully amuſe, diſtract, and abuſe the Conſciences of the common People, and perplex them with Scruples and Prejudices, and that ſometimes againſt the only means of their preſervation. And this calls upon, and urgeth the Charity of ſuch to whom God hath given a better underſtanding, to appear and come forth for the undeceiving and rectifying the Judgments of the moſt deceivable part of Mankind, and with juſt ignominy and ſcorn to beat down the aſſumings and preſumptions of ſuch Pretenders and Smatterers in Letters; eſpecially in ſuch a Weighty Matter as this, when the poor people (if miſtaken)

must

must be mistaken to their Ruine, and perish by the Deceit, if deceived; which, I hope, is scarce possible for very many to be, by this frivolous Pretender and Offerer of Considerations, which none but he that deserves our pity could think of; but for that he dares to offer them publickly to the World, and under the stile of [*Great and Weighty Considerations*,] he most justly deserves our Indignation, a private Scorn, & a publick Censure. For that purpose we will now produce him.

HE begins his Considerations with a Consideration and Recommendation of himself, and would fain prove his Honesty; for he was with reason conscious that this undertaking would render him more than probably suspected. He proves, as well as any thing he undertakes, and as well as it can be proved, That he is an honest man. This he would have the World believe, because there is such a thing as sincerity in the World; and for that there have been some men that have owned an afflictive Righteous Cause against self-interest, and the displeasure of a prevailing Faction. But we know the Cause that he Patronizes, is the most unrighteous Cause that ever any man of Front espoused: but that should not trouble us. But that which afflicts us, and is the heart-aking of all good men, is, That this Scribler with too much reason we know professes that the Brave men (whom he re-

viles

viles for adhering to the only means of the saving of three Kingdoms) with the Groſs of the Nation, are deſigned to be ſubdued by a party of men whoſe ſtrength the King in his profound Knowledg and Wiſdom beſt knows how to Calculate: but certainly this Addreſſer imagines very great, whatever he pretends, and that he is well backed by force. Otherwiſe he could not adventure publickly to deſpiſe the Intereſt of a Houſe of Commons. If this Conſiderer and his Fellow-Conſpirators had not ſome ſecret reſerves of Strength, he would not adviſe the King as he doth, to Adhere to, and Govern with the Houſe of Lords and his Privy-Council, and to lop off the Houſe of Commons from the Government as an unprofitable Branch.

In the next Paragraph he tells us, The *Chief-eſt Principle and Maxim of the true reformed Religion in this Kingdom, is fully Epitomized in this excellent Precept, Give to every one his due.* If there can be more nonſenſe ſpoken in ſo many words, It is this Patriot muſt do it; and you ſhall find him often performing what I have undertaken for him. And ſure, after ſuch demonſtrations of his Honeſty, and proof of his Underſtanding, you muſt take him for a *True Patriot*, and fit Addreſſer of GREAT and WEIGHTY Conſiderations.

In the next Paragraph he undertakes to commend

mend and allow, chide and disapprove our leading Men; I believe he means of the House of Commons; but we want his Name; it's fit he should discover himself, before we can admit him to sit Judge of the Actions of the most excellent Persons of the late House of Commons. I perswade my self he would blush, (however immodest he appears in his Address) if he were drawn out and exposed to publick view under such a Character; we might spare him the Pillory, rotten Eggs, and Turnep-tops, which is due to infamous Libellers against Governours; for he is a man of such fashion (I believe) that he would suffer too much of Shame and Confusion of Face, (if he were but known well enough to be pointed at) after we have done with him.

In the fourth Paragraph, he allows it is a glorious thing to establish the True Protestant Religion; but he would not have it established upon Quick-sands: neither would we, because it is impossible it should be so established; we would not have it depend upon loose accidents, exposed to Chance and Contingencies, and expect it should be supported by rare events, and morally impossible: nor to be left at Six and Sevens, a chance that is not upon the Die, and hope that things should out of their Course and Nature unite and combine together for its support.

That which is Glorious is so, because it is Excellent in it self, and difficult to be atchieved;

and

and whatever is difficult, is to be obtained by unusual and extraordinary means: to deny or condemn the use of them when lawful, is to deny us the end; and is so far in truth from allowing it to be Glorious, that he doth not allow it at all.

That it is made difficult to support the Protestant Religion, we owe to the Popish Conspiracy; and the design of this man is to make it impossible: to that purpose he requires you to lay aside Humane Policy, which is the same as true Prudence (which is the onely Guide God hath given us, and the onely Oracle he hath left us to consult in our Affairs, and is never repugnant (as he would have it) but always conformable to the Laws of God and Nature) lest we should be furnished with a Remedy against the designed mischiefs to us and our Religion.

To this commendable sort of Policy, the design of the Bill will be made agreeable in the following Discourse. That we may admit the absurd Doctrins of the Church of *Rome*, we are required to abandon our Reason; and that we may more easily again fall unto her, we must (if we will be ruled by the Considerer) renounce our Prudence; and those that will not, must endure his slanderous Reproaches, with which he goes on to revile the Promoters of the Bill of Exclusion, whom he calls *Hypocrites, Factious Spirits of the Fanatical Leven; that they make a Cloak of Religion to palliate black Designs; fierce Zealots, acting like*

like the Rump-Parliament, Guilty of Antichristian attempts, repugnant to the Ordinance of God, and to the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom; a few turbulent Zealots, assuming to themselves a Soveraign and despotical Power of Deposing the DUKE of YORK: and says, *That they impudently affirm, That this hath been the Ancient Custom of Parliaments, to Depose Princes, and dispose of Kingdoms; whereas the Crown hath been always Hæreditary, and never depended upon the Suffrages of the Subject.*

Since this bad man presumes to say so many bad words falsely of the Excellent Members of the late House of Commons, reproches their Zeal for the publick Safety, most Heroically exerted in the time of the greatest Need, and most threatning Dangers; calls their appearance for the support of the Protestant Religion established by Law, Hypocrisie: And the prosecuting the Discovery of the Hellish Plot, and the best means of preventing the Plot from taking effect, black Designs. Since, I say, his Immodesty hath given him so much Licence, I wonder he had no more Scurrilities, especially since he is so impertinent as to call the Bill of Exclusion, an Antichristian Attempt, Repugnant to the Ordinance of God, (though God never yet made any Law or Ordinance in that Case,) and the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom; though no Laws of Men are so Fundamental but they are alterable.

The Constitution of Government is indeed unal-

unalterable by Law, but no Laws but are alterable by the Government; for the Government was before Laws, and made and constituted most chiefly for the business of Legislation.

That the House of Commons assumes a Soveraign Power, he knows to be false; and knows too, that all the world knows he is therein a Falsary. What can be expected of Candour or Sincerity from a man of such Effrontery? and to the making the Slander compleat, he joyns Despotical to Soveraign power, as if they were the same; an instance of his egregious Ignorance, except he flatters the King: and would signifie to him that he hath despotical power, because he hath a Soveraign Power: and this commends him indeed for a true Patriot. A Despotical Power is such as Masters use over their Servants, that command what they will, because they will. Soveraign Power is exercised for the good of those that are governed; and the Commands that come from the Soveraign Power, are Laws that are deduc'd from publick Reason, as they are the publick Measures, and are always reasonable, or pretend to be so.

No body ever affirmed, before this Addresser to the King, That it hath been the Ancient Custom of Parliaments to dispose of the Crown, or that it depended upon the Suffrages of the Subjects; which he falsly and maliciously adventures to say, to misrepresent the most Venerable late House of Commons, whose Proceedings will ju-

ſtifie themſelves in true Story to all ſucceeding Generations, and will, we all hope, be ſeconded and out-done by the next; if the good People can keep themſelves from being deceived by ſuch Artificial men as this Addreſſer is.

But this is ſaid, and truly, That a Parliament, which is King, Lords, and Commons, have declared, and particularly, a Parliament in the Reign of that moſt Excellent Princeſs Queen *Elizabeth*, of Eternal Memory, (the wiſeſt and greateſt of the Princes that are Glorious for the Reforming the Chriſtian Religion) did declare a Power in themſelves, for Great and Weighty Reaſons of State, to alter the Succeſſion, otherwiſe than of courſe it is by Law appointed: and moſt reaſonable it is; for no Government can want a Power to preſerve it ſelf, and obtain its great end, *viz.* the preſervation of the Community and Polity it ſelf; and no leſs Reaſons than theſe, require and urge the Uſe and Exerciſe of this Power in an Act of Parliament for Excluding the D. from Succeeding to the Imperial Crown of *England*. In order to theſe ends, the Power of a Parliament is unreſtrain'd, and unlimited; which this Conſideration-Monger calls Scoffingly (Impiouſly and Prophanely towards God, and irreverently towards the Government) Omnipotency.

In the next Paragraph, he produceth his firſt Reaſon againſt the Excluding Bill. And by an execrable Argument, he adventures to prove,

That

That the descent of the Crown is Sacred, viz. *That an Attainder in Treason cannot debar the next Heir from succeeding in the Government.*

But if the Heir had died of that Attainder, the Argument had been spoiled. For cannot that Power that can inflict Capital Sentences, and that ought to do it against all in subjection that incur them, Banish instead of Kill? sure he is no true friend to his Royal Highness, whatever he pretends; we will sooner admit him a true Patriot, for that he makes the condition of his presumptive Heir so hard, That he must either *Die* or *Reign*. A very judicious Advocate, and deserves very well of his Client, who will remember him, sure, when he comes into his Kingdom, for bringing him into such danger.

I believe this considering Patriot shifted himself in this Consideration into *France*, where they have Princes of the Blood, against whom no Criminal Process can be formed, nor no Attainder of Blood is admitted, to the purpose that the most enormous Crimes may not seem faults in those that participate of the blood of that haughty Tyranny. But the better to disguise himself, he criminates the Parliament, calls the House of Commons in derision Cunning Politicians, that would have a new Model of Government; he chargeth them with assuming a power to depose the King, and will conclude, because he will, (and hopes the People will take his Word for it) for no other reason in the world,

that we may as well Depose the King, as foreclose a Presumptive Heir, which he will call deposing him: for this Ruffian-like man will not submit to the common use of Words, and is at defiance with the common Sense of Mankind, and will say it, That it is as lawful to Depose the Possessor of the Crown, as to make an Act of Parliament for preserving the Life of the present King, by disabling the next Successor that brings it in danger: And likens the late House of Commons, upon the score of their Bill of Exclusion, to the Rump. Oh! for a Discoverer that would bring this man to Light and Shame, and thereby to Reason and Sobriety.

Upon this weak and slight colour of a Reason, see in the next Paragraph how he lays about him, with what vehemency and expostulation; and yet in his magisterial Rant, the trifler could no sooner name an extravagant Bill, but he thinks of a Box of Gilded Pills, which if he had been lately under cure by Mr. *Hobbs* his Doctrine of the train of Thoughts, they could not escape coming together. And yet this Thinking Addresser is not altogether so happy in dividing and opposing, as in compounding. For he affirms, that to go about to establish the Protestant Religion by a Bill to Exclude the Popish Successour, is inconsistent with the Government, and is to destroy the very Root and Life of Government.

But

But, pray Sir, for the ſake of Reaſon tell us; Doth the Government it ſelf depend upon the perſon that Governs? or is the Government it ſelf changed by the alteration of the Succeſſion? may not Governments, for kind the ſame, have different modes of Succeſſion? and are not the kinds of Succeſſion, more than the kinds and forms of Government? Can the Government be ſafe without a Power to exclude a Perſon inhabil in Nature to ſupport it, or of one Principled to deſtroy it? Can we imagine a Government which is of Humane Contrivance, to be without a Power to preſerve it ſelf; and an Authority, in Caſes that threaten its Ruine, to interpoſe with apt Remedies for its preſervation? That a Government made by men ſhould be left meerly to chance, and the contingency of Birth, whatever happens of inability in the Perſons that come under the general Rule and Limitation of Succeſſion?

Doth the Exerciſe of this power turn the Kingdom from being Hereditary to Elective? is there no difference between the inconvenience of Judging of the ſeveral Degrees of fitneſs in ſeveral perſons competently qualified, and the proceeding upon evident notoriety to exclude one that deſigns the ſubverting of it, and the deſtruction of thoſe that are to be governed and protected and hath incurr'd a ſeverer Doom? I well hope there are very few in this Nation ſo ill inſtructed, that doth not think it in the Power of the Peo-

ple to depose a Prince who really undertakes to alienate his Kingdom, or to give it up into the hands of another Soveraign Power: Or that really acts the Destruction or the Universal Calamity of his People.

The Learned and Judicious Mr. *Falkner*, than whom there is no person of this Age with the Church of *England* in greater esteem; Who truly merits the high esteem of all men for his excellent Candour and Learning: In his Book called *Christian Loyalty*, cannot deny the right to be so upon those cases really happening, but is not willing to suppose such Cases can ever happen in Fact. He tells us, If any such strange Case as is proposed, should really happen in the World, it would have its great difficulties. *Grotius* (he tells us) thinks that in this utmost extremity, the use of such defence as a last refuge, *ultimo necessitatis præsidio*, is not to be condemned, provided the care of the common Good be preserved. And if this be true, saith he, it must be upon this Ground, that such attempts of ruining do *ipso facto* include a disclaiming the Governing these persons as Subjects, and consequently of being their Prince and King; and then, notwithstanding his Proposition (saith he) would remain True, *viz. That it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King.*

All that Mr. *Falkner* offers in this matter, out of his commendable Care and Zeal to Peace and Government, is, to argue the Cases in Fact impossible

poſſible, and that ſuch ſuppoſitions may be the undue imputations of Factious perſons againſt their Soveraign: He thinks that Princes may have a Conſideration of the Account they muſt give in the other World of their Government here: That they have a regard to their Honour and Eſteem, and a Reſpect to their Safety; To the quiet and ſerenity of their own minds, and will avoid the *Diræ Ultrices*, and the Tortures of mind that attend Cruelty, and the Actors of great miſchief, and by ſuch Conſiderations as theſe be contain'd in their Duty.

But do theſe Arguments of his, that ſhould reaſonably, and ordinarily do, ſecure us againſt the Oppreſſions of Potentates, give us in this juncture any Security? are theſe Conſiderations Diſſwaſives or Incitements to a Popiſh Prince to act our Fears, and give reality to the Suppoſitions? To any under the Principles and Counſels that guide ſuch a Prince already entred upon the Deſign, and his party obnoxious, theſe Conſiderations would urge him to proceed, and make our Calamity certain: Theſe Arguments of his applyed to ſuch a ſtate of things, is like a *Proteſtatio contra factum*; and like the Sophiſtical Arguments of the Stoicks, who would undertake to prove a thing acknowledged and exiſtent and preſent to be impoſſible.

How wild then and tranſported muſt this Patriot ſeem, who will undertake to argue the Bill guilty of the higheſt Iniquity and Injuſtice, Ar-

raign the greateſt and Beſt part of the Nation; adjure them to anſwer it at his Tribunal, challenge us (for ſo his Expoſtulations and Enquiries of us doth import) with intentions to over-reach Providence; and that we deſpair of the juſtneſs of our Cauſe, or the goodneſs of God. And he tells us, That God doth not want our Wickedneſs to fulfil his Holy Will.

We anſwer: How far the Providence of God will aſſiſt us in this undertaking we know not, it is not new in the world for the moſt Righteous Cauſes to be unproſperous; we are only to do our Duty, and leave the Iſſue and Event thereof to his All-Wiſe Providence. But we know, and are moſt aſſured of the Juſtneſs of the undertaking; and we have a good hope in the goodneſs of God, that he will ſucceed it, for that herein we are doing nothing that is evil, but fulfilling his Holy and Good Will: I mean, not that we are certain to obtain what we deſire and purſue: But it is the will of God concerning us, (who hath left us in the hands of our own Counſel, and hath not told us, That he will ſave us by a Miracle) that we ſhould be Loyal to our Sovereign, zealouſly love that excellent Religion and that excellent Government that his Gracious Providence hath eſtabliſhed amongſt us by Law: And alſo that we deſire and endeavour by Law to diſable (in the underſtanding of the repreſentative of the Nation) a profeſt Enemy both to our Religion and Government, from getting into the Throne;

Throne; that he be not by that advantage of Power, enabled to effect his purpoſe.

But we are reſolved we that will not call that Deſign Evil, tho' it do not ſucceed; nor think that we are not doing the Holy Will of God, tho' we ſhould be unproſperous therein, and without ſucceſs. If there was an Oracle to Conſult, we would not know what the Succeſs ſhould be, leſt our Virtue ſhould loſe its Glory. No brave man, but would deſpiſe all Auguries, when he is to contend for his Country, and things more precious to him than his Life. *Sortilegis egeant dubij.* This falſe Patriot takes Sanctuary in his Revolt from publick Intereſt; and he thinks he is ſwimming to Shore with his Plank before a Wreck, and will fly the Danger before it approaches: but we will do our Duty, weather the Storm ſecure of the event: for the goodneſs of the Cauſe makes us hopeful, and we will Triumph in our Integrity tho' diſappointed. Of any other Will of God, ſave what is his Will for us to do, as Citizens, Souldiers, or Martyrs, we are not ſo ſollicitous to know.

The Noble *Roman*, when adviſed by his Friend *Labienus* to Conſult the Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*, as to the event of the War in which he was then engaged, Thus anſwered him,

Quid Quæri Labiene *Jubes? an liber in armis*
Occubuiſſe velim potius quam Regna videre?
An noceat vis ulla bono? fortunaque perdat

Oppoſita

Oppoſita virtute minus? Laudandaque velle
Sit ſatis? Et nunquam ſucceſſu creſcit Honeſtum?
Scimus & hæc nobis non altius inſeret Ammon.

I do but right to my Country-men, to bear my publick Teſtimony, that their generous and godly Reſolutions are agreeable to this Noble *Roman*. But that done, I will calmly tell him, That we are in a Legal method, allowed by the Government, contending for its preſervation by the Bill of Excluſion; and that moſt certainly he can have no right againſt a Law (for ſuch it will be, when that Bill hath the Royal Aſſent) to any thing that he ſhall forfeit thereby: And whether ſuch a Law is not moſt righteous, let God, Angels and Men Judge.

And here it will not be amiſs to admoniſh this Patriot, That no man hath a Right to any thing from God and Nature (to uſe his Words which he uſeth, but doth not underſtand of what Import and value they are in this place) for the Rights of Property are of poſitive and civil Appointment and Inſtitution. No man can have, or is entitled to any thing, but what, and as the Law allots it to him. They deſign what is Right, what Wrong, and what is Injury and Theft; and the Law of God, both in the Reaſon and Nature of man, as well as by expreſs Revelation, forbids it. *Nec natura poteſt juſtum ſecernere iniquo.*

Men make Governments, and God Commands us to obey them; yea, God Commands us

us in our Nature, to form our ſelves into Governments. For that Mankind cannot tolerably ſubſiſt without them. What is greatly convenient, and promotes the happineſs of men, therefore ſeems to be Commanded, and thereby a poſitive and affirmative Law of God in Nature is declared. What is or would be greatly miſchievous to mankind, if generally permitted, is therefore underſtood by us prohibited. The Miſchief declares the thing forbidden, and is the indication of a Negative Precept, or prohibitory Law. The pleaſure and ſatisfaction of mind that men take in being beneficent and agreeable to, and deſerving well of their own kind: The remorſes, ſhame, fear and regret that men neceſſarily ſuffer from the ſenſe of their own actions, when they are offenſive, unequal and unreaſonable, are the Sanctions of the Laws of Nature, and are truly the Rewards and Puniſhments of God in Nature.

So that Anarchy, which is the moſt intolerable ſtate of Mankind, a ſtate of War and Violence, unreaſonable Paſſion, and unbounded Appetite, ſeems to be the moſt forbidden thing by God in Nature.

But Government, becauſe it makes men equal and reaſonable, juſt and peaceable, kind and beneficent, or finds them ſo, encourageth them to be ſo, and protects them in being ſo; ſeems to be the moſt principal Inſtitution and Appointment of God in Nature, for that it is recommended to

us

us by all that which conduces to our happineſs. And thus, and for this reaſon, are Kings and Governours ſaid to have their Authority from God, and therefore Government is called θεοῦ διαταγὴ, *Rom.* 13.2. Gods Ordinance. But the forms of Governments, the Perſons of the Governours, the Order of Succeſſion, their reſpective Powers and Miniſtries, are of Mans appointment: and agreeable hereunto, Government is called ἀνθρωπίνη κτίσις, or a Humane Creature, 1 *Peter* 2. 13, 24. to which the Apoſtle enjoyns us to be Obedient for the Lords ſake, and in Conſcience of our Duty to God.

Agreeable hereto is that Noble Tradition amongſt the *Jews* of the ſeven Precepts given by God to the Sons of *Noah*, that is, to all Mankind, for from him we all ſecondarily derive, in which the great Titles of the Law of Nature are declared, and to which all the Nations of the World were obliged: one of which is *De Judiciis*. The words of the Precept, which is the Seventh, are no more, ſignifying that the Law of Nature, or the Will of God in Nature, doth command us to live in Politys and under Governments. This Law was given or declared to all Mankind, when they were in a State of Nature, before Governments were conſtituted; and by that Law of Nature, obliged to form themſelves into Societies, to enter into mutual Obligations, to ſtand to and abide the common meaſures of Law, and to aſſiſt and ſubmit to the Sentences and Decrees of com-

mon

mon Judicatures. These were the first Oaths of Allegiance that were taken in the world: but when a single person was entrusted with the executive power of Laws, they swore this Allegiance to him. For in all regular Governments (as it is in this of ours) the King commands nothing but according to the Prescript and Formula's of Law: And the whole business of Government, as between those that are to be Governed, is making Laws, and executing them in a due Administration of Justice.

As Corollaries to what is said, I shall add, first, That Mercenary Guards are very unnatural to Governments, as they seem, upon the foregoing Reasons, to be instituted and appointed by God in Nature, which receive conformation from the Tradition and Doctrine of the *Jews* (the best instructed Nation in the world in the Mind of God) for that the whole body and power of the Government or Polity are bound to see the Law, and Results of their common Judicatures obey'd, and are amply sufficient for that purpose. So that the head of the Polity, by the *posse populi*, being most powerfully instructed to execute the Laws, Mercenary Guards seem intended and designed, by those that imploy them, to execute matters illegal and extrajudicial; or at best they make a very hard case upon the people, that they must support a great charge, and pay a great price for jealousies and fears.

Secondly, That by the natural obligation of the

the ancient Oath of Allegiance, every Member of the Polity is bound to resist and subdue all extrajudicial Forces, riotous and routous Assemblies.

But the nature of Government, and its true original, hath been prejudiced by an unhappy mistake that hath long since invaded the World; men that understand nothing but Words; and Grammar-Divines, that without contemplating Gods Attributes, or the nature of man, or the reasonableness of moral Precepts, have undertaken to declare the sense of Scriptures; and infer that the Soveraign Power is not of Humane Institution, but of Divine Appointment; because they find it there written, that *by him Kings Reign*; imagining that when the Scripture saith, God commands, or doth this, that God commanded it by express Words, or doth it by an immediate position of the thing done. Whereas in Nature his Commands are nothing but the natural Light God hath bestowed upon Mankind: Likewise God's doing a thing is only the course of natural and second Causes, to which, because God gives the Direction or Motion, he doth both, and is said to do all that is done.

Besides, all the Precepts that God gives us that are agreeable to the Law of Nature, must be understood as Nature and Reason doth direct. *Videtur Lex Dei idem dictans quod natura, ita accipi quomodo ipsa natura accipiendum monstrat, nisi addatur aliquid Expressius*; Grotius *Comment. fol.* 121.

121. The Laws of God, that confirm the Laws of men, innovate nothing but a new obligation to obſerve them (but only) as commanded and intended by thoſe that made them. All humane Conſtitutions and Governments muſt be ſubſervient and obſequious to their own intentions. *Omnes rés conditæ famulantur vitæ humanæ*: Every Form of Government is of our creation and not Gods, and muſt comply with the ſafety of the People in all that it can, without its own diſſolution: and was never intended unalterable, or at leaſt inflexible, but was intended and made under reſervations, reaſonable exceptions of unforeſeen accidents, and rare contingencies in humane Affairs. And the Law of God, that comes in confirmation and eſtabliſhment of humane Inſtitutions and Laws, binds only according to their natures and intendments.

How unreaſonable therefore are the Tragical Exaggerations of the conſiderer, making it the moſt heinous wickedneſs, and the moſt crying Injuſtice, to alter that which in its own nature is alterable, and by an Act of the Government to exclude the D. from the Succeſſion, as a perſon unfit and unſafe to be entruſted with the Government! (though in the general order thereof, he was thereto deſigned) beſides that he hath forfeited that kind of right that he had by that general appointment.

Is this, ſaith he, the way of eſtabliſhing the Proteſtant Religion? he ſaith, this is exactly to fol-

follow the footsteps of that Monster of Ingratitude, the wicked *Jeroboam*, who after God of his infinite goodness had raised him from nothing, and established him Monarch of the ten Tribes of *Israel*, yet was he so mistrustful of Gods Power in preserving his Kingdom for the future, that he thought nothing could secure it but his own accursed Policy.

Our Considerer seems to have a high value for Rule and Domination, otherwise he would not have called the advancement of *Jeroboam* to rule by Usurpation, an effect of the infinite goodness of God. But these words were put in, to make that story of *Jeroboam* parallel to our case: and he intends thereby to remember us of the little power that the reformed Religion sometimes had, perhaps in the time of Queen *Mary*; and to charge upon the Protestant Religion, and reproach it with a Revolt and unjustifiable Schismatical departure from the Church of *Rome* in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the acquiring and possessing it self of the Government: And now, behold the man! now you know him and his Religion, and how fit he is to offer Considerations for the D. against the Bill.

But shortly, to destroy his parallel, he may know, that the Reformation did only assert and reassume the Rights of the Crown usurp'd by the Bishop of *Rome*: We did reform the Religion of our Church to primitive Christianity, from which the Church of *Rome* had seduced us; but there-

herein we used no other Power than what belongs to every Church to reform it self: we were never of right and duty subject to the Church of *Rome*, she never rightfully had any Authority over us, and therefore we could not Schismatically revolt from her; nor are parallel at all in this to *Jeroboam*, though this man will compare us to him, and thereby slily charge us with monstrous ingratitude to God, and accursed Policies; because we will not again give up our Civil Rights to the Tyranny of *Rome*, nor lose again the true Christian Religion in the Superstitions and corrupt Doctrines of that Church; and because we will not forbear to use that power which is lawful to every Government.

Except this be his meaning, and he himself a Papist, he might with as much pertinency have told any other story of *Jeroboam*, or of any other of the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*, in the Books of the *Kings* or *Chronicles*; or of *Belteshazzar* or *Nebuchadonozor*, *Zenacherib*, *Ahasuerus*; or *Holofernes*, or *Antiochus*, or any other King or Name in story Sacred or Prophane. Of all these he could not have found out any thing more unlike to have compared with us, to have remarked himself for a man of great Considerations. For *Jeroboam* corrupted the true Worship of God to support an Usurped Crown; but the design of the Bill against which he declaims, is to support a Lawful Government, and the best Religion by a legal Act of that Government.

So that we will invert that Wo which he pronounceth against us out of the Prophet; *Wo unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong*, into a Wo against himself: *Wo unto him that putteth evil for good, and darkness for light, and casteth a stumbling-block before his neighbour.*

But in what follows of this Writer of Considerations, I doubt me whether he doth not act the part of a scorning Atheist; for that he would perswade the World from all care and regard of Religion, by telling us, it is able to shift for it self, it being the work of Gods own hand. His Atheistical scorn and low valuation of the true Christian Religion, is further very notorious and remarkable, for that he makes the establishment thereof amongst us to be such a like work of the Almighty Hand of God, that establish'd *Jeroboam* in the Kingdom of *Israel*. O thou *Insensatus Galata*! to return thy own Exclamation which thou usest against thy own honest and discerning Country-men, upon thy stupid self: For who, I pray you, but a senseless man, would compare a providential permission of the revolt of the ten Tribes for the sins of *David*, and the sins and oppressions of *Solomon* (to which the People were prepared by the exactions, oppressions, and riotous Reign of *Solomon* and his Successor *Rehoboam*) to the work of the Reformation, which was the delivery and restoring to it self the Gospel of Christ, and his true Religion,

(which

(which was spoiled and depraved by the *Church* of *Rome*) for the benefit I doubt not of all the Ages of Mankind to the end of the World; against which the Gates of Hell shall not prevail; and which we in despight of the *Roman* Successor shall see yet flourish in this Land.

But we must not expect, though God did first plant his Church by Miracles in Nature, and demonstrations of the Spirit of Power, by the wonderful Gifts of the Holy Ghost, and by the Spirit of Glory resting upon the Primitive Martyrs of the Holy Faith, and did restore the purity of the Christian Faith by a Miraculous Providence and the Spirit of Martyrdom, which we are now peacefully and Legally possessed of; I say, we have no reason to expect Wonders for our preservation, when it seems to be in our own hands: Nor ought we to subject the Professors of the True Religion again to Slaughters, Fire and Faggot, Tortures, Inquisitions and Massacres.

Let us not think that our Government, as it lies in History, and our Laws in Books and Parliament-Rolls (which will easily suffer an *Index expurgatorius*, and make no complaint,) can defend us and it against the Instruments and Engines designed for its subversion in the Plot, and the powers that have been long addressing to that purpose, and are now at leisure to execute what we know is designed against us, better than we can make out and discover. This Expression, I know, would scarce pass for sense in any other

Age or Matter, but we live in an Age of Myſtery and Prodigy, producing things Monſtrous and unnatural, and our Language muſt be agreeable to the things we ſpeak of.

The True Patriot proceeds and affirms, That it is an unwarrantable Attempt, and a point without example or preſident, to Depoſe a Prince for not complying with his People in Religion. I appeal to all that ſhall read him, whether he appears to be a man of Reading enough to warrant him to pronounce a general Negative in this matter? But by this time there is nothing ſo extravagant but you will allow agreeable to the man. I believe immodeſty is the unhappy Vice and Fate of his Nature, for no man ever arrived to the like Degree in it before him: you muſt not ask what he means by a point without example or preſident, or why he puts us a point that is not in our Caſe, and ſtill will be talking of depoſing a Prince; for this man oweth no account of his matters. But, thou Falſe Conſiderer; So Loyal I am, That I would not have that point in the Caſe for half I am worth.

But pray why thus impertinent? Why doſt thou ſend us to *Aſa* and *Maachah*, *Jeroboam*, *Reboboam*, *Jehu* and *Joram*, *Aſa* and his Mother, and *Azaria?* we know little of the Conſtitution of the Jewiſh Monarchy, ſave that God after the Jews had rejected his Government, and deſired a King, kept ſome remains of his Theocracy over them, which he adminiſtred by his Prophets, whom

whom he commiſſioned to Exauctorate and Anoint Kings. Their Hiſtories are ſhort; but beſides, every Nation is to be governed by their own Laws, and there are as many kinds almoſt of Governments as there are Governments; we are not warranted by their Preſidents, nor to be Juſtified or Condemned by them; but we muſt Stand or Fall to our own Laws. But let this Patriot know, that our caſe will never be *Cromwels*, (as he reproaches us,) & we will not, neither can we ſtand in need of any Apology that would ſerve either for the *Rump* or him; for we are preſerving that Government and Church which they deſtroyed.

Neither will we, O man of ſmall Conſideration, make uſe in our defence of the Papiſts excluding the King of *Navarr*, a Proteſtant King in *France*: No more than we will allow the *French* to murder a Proteſtant Miniſter, becauſe we execute a Seditious Traiterous *Roman* Prieſt: No more than we can allow in others, or juſtifie in our ſelves to proſecute diſſenting Proteſtants, whoſe Principles are peaceable and obedient to Governours: Becauſe we duly ſharpen our Laws, and exact the Severity of them againſt the Papiſts, the ſworn enemy to all Religions but their own, and to all mankind upon the ſcore thereof. How groſly therefore is that of the Apoſtle miſapplyed, *Whoſoever thou art O man that judgeſt another*, &c. For doth a publick Executioner incur the Judgment of ſhedding mans Blood, for

executing a Sentence againſt a Murderer. Thou man of Obſervation mayſt poſſibly know what kind of Beaſts we muzzle and tye up.

He obſerves for our Imitation, That the Orthodox did not Depoſe the *Arrian* Emperours: we ought undoubtedly to imitate them therein: for that no man, much leſs a Prince, ought to loſe any right for a Speculative Error, or meer miſ-belief. But onely for wicked practices and opinions that promote, excite and encourage them. But it is alſo very obſervable, which the Conſiderer, by his mention of *Julian* the Emperour in this place, gives me occaſion to offer: That the Behaviour of the Church towards the Pagan *Roman* Emperours, was much different from that which they bore to *Julian*, who ſucceeded to Chriſtian Emperours, was educated a Chriſtian, and ſometimes bore a place in the Church: for whereas the Apoſtles had enjoyned the Chriſtians to pray for the Pagan Emperours, though actual Perſecutors of the Church; yet the whole Church did Curſe and Anathematize *Julian* with an Anathema, *quo Deus rogatur ut aliquem è medio tollat. In Julianum cum defectioni adderet machinationes evertendi Chriſtianiſmi, uſa eſt Eccleſia iſto extremæ neceſſitatis telo, & à Deo eſt exaudita.* Grotius in Luc. Cap. 6. Verſ. 12. I will not trouble the Reader with more Quotations to this purpoſe; the Authority of this Great man is more than ten Witneſſes. And for what he lays down generally, that the Orthodox did not Depoſe the

Arrian

Arrian Emperours: I must remember him out of *Socrates* the Ecclesiastical Historian, *lib.*2. *cap.* 38. Gr. when the Souldiers of *Constantius* the *Arrian* Emperour were by his command sent to enforce them to become *Arrians*, they took Arms in defence of their profession of Religion; how justifiable therein, I will not now discourse. But this may be said, that the Christian Religion with indifferency to all Sects, was made the Religion of the Empire by Imperial Rescripts, and all Christians had thereby a Civil Right to a free and undisturbed profession of their Religion in their several Perswasions: For *Constantine* the Great carried so indifferent an hand between the Contending Parties, that he endeavoured to make Peace rather by silencing the Disputes, than by determining the Controversie: Worthy of the imitation of the Guides of Christendom; and the onely means of freeing the Reformed Religion from being depraved by the Jargon and Gibberish of the Sectaries.

If the Crown should devolve upon the *Roman* Successor, it would require consideration, whether we could justifie the Dethroning of him; though the *French* Papist could not be justified in rejecting the King of *Navar*.

But this untrue Patriot shifts his Cause from what it is, to what it is not, that he may have some colour to inveigh against the true Patriots, far more excellent and righteous than himself; and have some umbrage to betray the best Reli-

gion and the beſt Government, while he pretends with falſe Hypocriſie to ſupport them.

But I am glad to find in him at leaſt one grain of Senſe and Honeſty; he ſaith well (to do him right) that is the beſt Religion that gives every one his due. But he muſt conſider farther, to the confuſion of the Cauſe he Advocates, That to give every one his due, is to adminiſter Defence to the Innocent, and by Authority of Law to ſubdue the aggreſſors of Mankind, how great and mighty ſoever they be; for they that are mighty Offenders, ought in proportion to be mightily puniſhed: *Fiat Juſtitia* therefore, as he ſaith, *Ruat Cœlum*: for, to puniſh, much leſs to lay a reſtraint upon evil Perſons, is *not to do evil that good may come of it*; which he would impute to the proceedings in Parliament againſt the Duke, for which he muſt be ſelf-condemned, for I cannot take him for a *German* Anabaptiſt.

And now we find this Conſiderer complaining of ſome Pamphleteers, that write ridiculouſly Sophiſtical, and unreaſonable Reaſons; that tell ſtories (he ſaith) of *Edgar Athelin*, *William the Conquerour*, *Arthur Plantagenet*, and King *John*; that write Antichriſtian and Fanatical Logick, never heard of, until the Spirit of *Belial* revealed it to *Oliver* and the *Rump*. I believe, if there be any ſuch Pamphlet, this Pamphleteer is the Author of it, or ſome of his Complices: to the purpoſe that there might ſeem ſome one worſe than his own; and that he might be able

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to quarrel with, and confute, and do advantage to his bad Cauſe by ſome worſe Reaſonings than he would ſeem to be Maſter of, or than his Cauſe is capable of, which is not capable of a good one.

But what he ſays cannot poſſibly be true of any Pamphlet; but rather than he will not be ſlandering, he will ſlander himſelf, and belie the Devil: For obſerve, he ſaith, they uſe Fanatical Logick, and Antichriſtian Logick. The true Fanaticks, being impatient of the reſtraints of Reaſon, and to be confined to ſober ſenſe, call Logick and Reaſoning by that which they would ſeem moſt to hate, Antichriſtian. The true Antichriſtians and Papiſts, being impatient of the light reproof and diſcovery of Reaſon, call ſound Reaſon Fanaticiſm. But our Writer is ſo vengeancely angry with reaſoning, that with the ſame breath he calls Logick, for the ſake of reaſon, Antichriſtian and Fanatical too; and renders himſelf ſuſpected of being an Antichriſtian Fanatick.

And yet any one may ſee, that it is not the thing it ſelf that he is thus angry with, but the name of Logick that he thus expoſeth; for what it is he knows not, he ſeems to think it comes by Inſpiration, and that there are two ſorts of Logick; one good, but he is not acquainted (for all that appears to us) with the Spirit from whence that is derived; and another bad, which, he ſays, is inſpired by the Spirit of *Belial*; whereas

as most certainly there is no such Devil amongst all the Orders of the Apostate Angels: Sons of *Belial* I have heard of indeed, that did evil without profit, without design, for evils sake; but these are such men as need no Tempter; for they will be wicked without a Tempter, according to the fatal propensions of their vitious Natures, and are not to be managed by the Devil himself: And to this sort of men doth our Pamphleteer seem somewhat to approach, for that he is an unaccountable Transgressor.

No reason can be given of him, why he should with so much seeming earnestness concern himself to perswade the People to abandon to an utter neglect those things that of all others are of most value to them, their Religion, Government, Lives, Liberties and Estates. To perswade a whole Nation to lay violent hands upon themselves, to cut their own Throats, to burn themselves alive and their Houses; and to destroy themselves, their Wives and Children, Bodies and Souls too, for Conscience-sake. That there can be a Subject not subject to Laws; and that offences that cannot be rated, because their mischiefs are infinite, for that very reason must not be punished; and he would have us reckon it a sin of the most heinous nature, to punish the Offender with a diminution only in his power to do those evils which are most notoriously by him designed, and will be effected by means of his own making and causing, if he himself should

relent

relent and refuse to execute them. If in this Age of Licenſe, immodeſty could entitle any man to be a ſon of *Belial*, our Writer of Conſiderations might fairly pretend to it, who is immodeſt for impudence ſake, which ſpends it ſelf in waſte, and cannot effect any thing but the expoſing it ſelf. In ſaying this, I ſhould think my ſelf very ſevere, but that he hath publiſhed his own ſhame; and if I would, it is not in my power to cover it.

But he hath not ſhewed the worſt of himſelf yet, he attempts further upon the Underſtanding of the People; he will have us believe that we owe Allegiance to the Preſumptive Heir; that we have as many Kings as Princes of the Bloud; and that a Son hath a right to his Fathers Eſtate before he is dead: For the probable Succeſſor can have no more right to the effect of the Oath of Allegiance, than the eldeſt Son to receive the Profits of his Fathers Eſtate without his leave in his Fathers Life-time.

If this Gentleman's Father had had any Land, he would have underſtood the difference between his right to the Land after his Father's Death, and his hopes and poſſibility onely to have it during his Father's Life. The word Heir is joyned with Succeſſor in the Oath of Allegiance, to ſignifie, that it means Heirs in the proper ſence, which is ſuch that ſucceed to the Inheritance; and not ſuch as are in expectancy or poſſibility of having the Inheritance, who are improperly

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and equivocally ſo called. And tho' the thing is ſo plain, that every man as well as the Lawyers agree what is ſaid; yet my Lord *Cook*, for ſaying the ſame, is called by this Gentleman, Silly and Ridiculous, Fallacious and Impertinent.

The Lawyers tell me, that it is a Rule in the Law, *Non eſt hæres viventis*; that is, No man can have an Heir while he lives; and they likeways ſay of all the *Regulæ Juris*, There is not one of greater extent and rule than this; that it hath governed Ten thouſand Caſes near upon in the Common Law; and they withal aſſure me, that notwithſtanding this man (amongſt other civil terms) calls the Lord *Cook* Fallacious, they firmly believe, if a Fee had been offered to him of the value of his Eſtate, which is about 200000*l.* he would not have ſigned an Opinion with a *Videtur* to the contrary; but he is reſolved that all Mankind ſhall be miſtaken, and he will call their reaſonings in this matter what he pleaſeth; New *Machiavillian* Logick, a word that diſhoneſtly he took up, on purpoſe to expoſe the Bill to the Vulgar, imagining in his profound Conſideration, that ſome of the Multitude will, upon the hearing of *Machiavillian*, fall thereupon into an unwitting diſlike of the Bill.

Nay, he will conclude an Heir Apparent to be an Heir, becauſe he could not be Heir Apparent unleſs he were an Heir; when the word Apparent and the word Preſumptive more eſpecially

ally joyned to Heir, is a term of Abatement or Negative, and distinguisheth him from being a real Heir, and speaks him no Heir, but onely one in a near possibility of being so. But, says he, it is a manifest contradiction for one to be Heir Apparent, and not to be Heir; as it is to be a learned man and no man. *Prius est esse, quam esse tale.* I wish we had his Name, that we may mark the most absurd reasonings by it, for the everlasting Honour of this Pretender to Reasoning and Discourse. We all know that the word Heir is a Name to design a Person under such a relation and respect, and imports nothing of entity; and we may use our own abstract Terms properly or improperly, and without any correspondent reality, to an equivocal sense.

But he adds Profaneness to his Levity, and as if the Holy Scriptures were writ to so trifling a design, as to be an Oracular Dictionary, and Infallible Nomenclature; he tells us how the word Heir is used in Scripture, when the holy Writers formed their Language by the vulgar Idiomes amongst the People of the Jews, and never intended to write Law-Cases, much less to declare the Common Law of *England*, or imagined that their stile should be produced to expound our Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy.

But now, thou vain Considerer, wilt thou hence conclude, that the Duke of *York* is Heir and Successor? That we now owe him Faith and Allegiance? That he is already in the Throne,

and

and that this Bill, though it pretends onely to foreclose him, doth truly depose him?

It is insufferable, that this man should impute to the House of Commons, and the best People of *England*, *Diabolical Fiction, the worst of all Jesuitical Equivocations, and of endeavouring to make a colour to their perfidious and perjurious dealings*, for these reasons onely, because we will not believe, or take our selves to have sworn Allegiance to the Duke of *York*, when we swore it to the King: Because we will not allow that a Parliament of *England*, which is the King, Lords, and Commons, have no more to do with our Government than the Pope of *Rome*; or that the Pope hath as much power to depose one of the Kings, as the Parliament hath to punish a most obnoxious Subject: This he dares address to the King, and publish to the World.

He proceeds to presume and tell us, that this at least must be granted, that whosoever is by Bloud next Heir to the Crown, we are by our Oath obliged before God to bear him Faith and true Allegiance: nay, to defend him against all attempts, until he is disinherited by Act of Parliament; and therefore, says he, what soever we do against him, before this Act be fully established, is a violation of our Oath, and therefore the very attempt of voting and passing this Bill, makes the actors and abettors Perjurers before God and the World.

Sure it will be allowed, that this Gentleman is mista-

miſtaken; ſure he doth not intend to ſpeak Treaſon, but hath a way of ſpeaking which he will uſe by himſelf, and will make Words ſtand for what he hath a mind to: which Will and Pleaſure of his, this peremptory abſolute man thinks himſelf not bound to explain, though to ſave his Neck, if he ſhould be Indicted therefore of Treaſon, which I deſire he may, and Arraigned too, for the better clearing the matter, if it be poſſible, how we are now bound to bear Faith and true Allegiance to the Duke: But he will ſooner be Hanged, than make out how a thing may be done Lawfully, which is not Lawful to go about: That the Duke of *York* may be Lawfully Diſ-inherited, but the Voting and Paſſing of the Bill muſt be Perjury. May not he that is bound by an Oath to pay money, deſire a releaſe from the Debt without Perjury? Cannot all Civil Debts, Duties and Contracts, though confirmed by Oath, be diſcharged by the Intereſted Perſon, to whom the Duty is to be performed, and for whoſe Benefit the Contract is made? May not Kings, by renouncing their Governments, make the Oath of Allegiance ceaſe to all effects of Obligation? And cannot an Act of Parliament that ſhall diſable a Succeſſour, equally prevent it from paſſing any Obligation upon us?

But ſhortly to explain of what Import, and for what reaſon the words Heirs and Succeſſors are put into the Oath of Allegiance: and it is this,

That

That in case of the Demise of the King, and the Devolving and vesting of the Crown upon the Heir and Successor, the Oath that we took to the Predecessor, by virtue of those Words laies hold upon our Consciences, and obligeth us to him from the first minute of his Reign, but not before; and so we are not one minute free from the Bonds of our Allegiance. This being the scope of the Law that requires it, and of the Oath it self, it must likewise be by that interpreted; for *finis discendi est ratio dictorum*, and an Oath doth not oblige as this or that man would interpret, neither according to the vulgar or technical use of the Word, but in such a sense as is adæquate and agreeable to the Intent and End of the proposing and requiring it.

But by what is said before, it appears that we are not yet under the Obligation of that Oath to the Duke, and that it is in the Pleasure and Power of the Parliament, whether we ever shall be; our Comfort is (whatever he thinks) that there is a great difference between Hopes and Enjoyment: And further, it appears that the Heir Apparent is but equivocally, and in a less proper sense so; and yet this Considerer (who if he be not a perfect Atheist, and serves a turn in this Paper, must be a Papist in his heart) according to the Modesty of the Gentleman, chargeth us with Jesuitical Equivocations in the Oath of Allegiance, while in the mean time he is equivocating the King out of his Throne, shifting the Duke into his

his place, by an æquivocal Abuſe of the word: the courſeſt ſlight that ever was uſed by any *Hocus Pocus*, or any Pretender to *Legerdemain*.

And yet upon the Confidence of theſe weak and miſtaken Reaſonings, he preſumes to arraign the Houſe of Commons of the greateſt Injuſtice and Iniquity, and would have us apprehend Slavery the Arbitrary and Deſpotical Power of Parliaments. The loſs of all Security either of Property or Liberty, by a prevailing Faction of Parliament; which he will be able to effect at the ſame time when he can perſwade us to diſſolve the Polity, and exchange the beſt and ſafeſt Government into an Anarchy. To be without Judges, for fear of unrighteous Sentences; and without a Power of Legiſlation, for fear of Laws of Iniquity. But it is not a new thing for obnoxious Criminals and Out-laws to turn Rebels againſt Government.

What this man is, and what the Cauſe is he Eſpouſes, is declared ſufficiently, in that he hath no better ways of Advocation and Defence, than by Oppoſing and Reviling the Government it ſelf; and he that dares revile the Government, would, if he had Power, Deſtroy it.

In that he calls the major part of the Houſe of Commons a Prevailing Faction, I challenge him Guilty of the Higheſt Treaſon, of a Treaſon not onely againſt this Government, but of a tranſcendent Treaſon, of a Treaſon virtually againſt

all mankind, for that we cannot ſubſiſt without Polities, and no Polities can ſubſiſt but by deference to the reſults of the Governing Power, which is Interpretatively in the reſolves of the major part.

But he proceeds to queſtion, whether, by the Conſtitutions of this Government, the Parliament can extend their power to ſhut out the Duke from ſucceeding to the Crown; for admitting (he means) That it is Juſt, which we will not accept of as a voluntary conceſſion of this Conſiderer, (for that it doth appear not onely Juſt, but highly neceſſary, to exclude the Duke by Bill) he will then draw it into queſtion, Whether there be any competent power in the Government for doing a thing not onely juſt, but abſolutely neceſſary for the preſervation of the King and Kingdom? Whether there be any Subject too great for Juſtice, or any private Right that is not governable, and may not be ordered as to the Legiſlature ſhall ſeem neceſſary to the preſervation of the whole? Whether that which is properly the Right of the Community (for ſo is the Succeſſion) may receive no alteration in a ſingle inſtance, for the Weightieſt Reaſons? and whether he that declares that he will not Govern, but Deſtroy, and doth virtually renounce the Government, may not be left out of the Succeſſion? This is the true ſtate of the Queſtion; and the Queſtion thus ſtated, gives its own ſolution; And who, except thoſe of the

the Conſpiracy, do not ſo ſtate it, and allow it?

As to his Queſtion, Whence the Parliament derives their Power: let him know, that the Parliament derive their Power and Authority from the ſame Original the King derives His: The King hath not His Power from them, nor they theirs from the King: They both derive their Authority from the Conſent of the People in the firſt Conſtitution of the Government, either tacit or expreſs, or by their expreſs or tacit Conſent, in the inſenſible, and little, or great, and more remarkable alterations that the Government hath ſuffered in the courſe of Time.

The King can make the Parliaments Power no greater than it is, nor they His. Though true it is, he may put an unlimited Truſt repoſed in him, into Stated Laws, and Govern by Counſels eſtabliſhed into Laws; which is not to alter or leſſen His Power, but to make it more Safe and Wiſe, and impeccable in the exerciſe of it. He may aſcertain the indefinitneſs of his Power, that it may not be abus'd. And that King doth beſt provide for a happy and wiſe Adminiſtration of his Government, who leaves the feweſt things to fortuitous reſolves, who reduceth his Prerogative to the meaſures of Common Right, and makes the Kingdom ſecure and ſafe, by leaving the Succeſſion leſs Capacity and Scope to do miſchief.

It is moſtly incumbent upon his Sacred Majeſty to ſecure the Government committed to his

Care, and keep it upright, and ſteady upon its own Baſis, and to preſerve all things in a due and Legal Courſe: To watch to prevent all machinations againſt it, and ſuch as would deſtroy and ſubvert it; and by his executive power of the Laws, obtain to us the ends of Government, that we may live quiet and peaceable Lives in all Godlineſs and Honeſty. For the ſake of this High Truſt, and the Dignity of this Office, his Perſon is moſt Sacred and Inviolable.

The King and his great Council providing for the eſtabliſhment and ſecurity of the Government in their proceedings are not tyed up to forms of Judicial proceedings; but are to act upon ſuch inducements, and in ſuch methods, whereby the Wiſeſt men govern their affairs; in which they are at perfect Liberty, and not under the reſtraint of Laws. They cannot do unjuſtly, whatever methods or means they uſe, that are prudentially and morally neceſſary to this End.

This power can be no more wanting in Governments, than we can be without Government: That which eſtabliſheth the one (which is the Law of God declared in the Make and Frame of Humane Nature) affirms and allows the other.

By the Authority of this Law of God ſo declared and promulgated, as I have told you, *do Kings Reign, and Senators or Princes Decree Juſtice.* By virtue of this Law, and in Obedience to it, is this Bill fram'd (againſt which this Conſi-

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derer declaims like a ſpeaking Brute.) From this Law of God, the ſaid Bill when it paſſeth into a Law, will have its Approbation, Sanction and Eſtabliſhment.

But againſt this Bill, with his accuſtomed Truth, Candor and Modeſty, he doth object, That if ſuch an Authority ſhall belong to the Parliament, as to diſable one ſucceſſor upon ſuch inducements as are ſufficiently known; a Parliament ſome time or other may be corrupted by a King, and by mercenarineſs comply with him to ſell the Succeſſion of the Crown to a Foreigner. We all well enough know, that this Bill is deſigned to keep out the Tyranny of *France*, or at leaſt the *French* Tyranny: But for this I leave the King to reckon with him and the Penſioners of the late long Parliament.

The Gentleman continues to add the ſtory of *Ahab*, contriving to poſſeſs himſelf of *Naboth's* Vineyard, by cauſing him to be falſly accuſed of Blaſpheming God and the King; by which, if true, by the Jewiſh Laws, *Ahab* had been Juſtly entitled to it as a Royal Eſcheat. But if he had not been as ſtupid as a Block, he had not mentioned this ſtory, which is a preſident and an adjudg'd caſe againſt himſelf; who, but a Line before, had ſo vilely Blaſphemed ſo great a King, a far greater King than *Ahab*, though the Parliament divide ſome Authority with the King in the Government: But what were the Conſtitutions of the *Jewiſh* Monarchy, this Writer of Con-

ſiderations, I am ſure, knows no more than his Foot-boy. But let him know, that the *Romiſh* Religion is a Blaſpheming God; and to bring the Kings Life in danger, is worſe than to Blaſpheme him. See what wiſe Work this Conſiderer makes; when, forſooth, he would argue, That the Duke of *York* cannot be ſhut out of the Succeſſion, no more than *Ahab* could take *Naboth*'s Vineyard from him.

The man of Weighty Conſiderations tells us in the next Paragraph, That God was Incenſed againſt *Eſau* for ſelling his Birth-right; and therefore the Duke muſt not loſe his, contrary to his Will, and all Juſtice, by a prevailing Faction of his Inferiours.

Who ever told him, That God was Incenſed againſt *Eſau* for ſelling his Birth-right? Did not God purpoſe the Birth-right to *Jacob*, before the Brothers were born, and before they had done Good or Evil? Could God be angry with him for agreeing and executing his own Purpoſe and Decree? Did not *Iſaac* and *Rebekah* both know and underſtand the Oracle, and in Obedience to it, *Jacob* was effectively Bleſſed by his Father *Iſaac*'s confirming the Bleſſing firſt gotten by ſurprize, and by the Solemnity of that Bleſſing, his Father *Iſaac* transferred the right of the Promiſe made to *Abraham*, to be fulfilled in the Line of *Jacob*? Indeed the place he quotes in *Heb.* 12. 17. is this, *Let no Whoremonger or Prophane Perſon be amongſt you, like* Eſau, that would prefer a Senſual pleaſure before the great things

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that were promiſed by our Lord to them that obey him. Wherein the mention of *Eſau*'s Story, is only to illuſtrate and ſet off what they fell ſhort of the Grace of God, and the deſigns of his Holy Inſtitution. Indeed, if he could prove to us, that his Royal Highneſs, being the younger Brother, had any ſuch thing tranſmitted to him in his Generation, as the *Jews* called the *Segulah* (by which they mean ſome peculiarity, which did appropriate the Right of the Promiſes made to *Abraham*,) which *Jacob* had, and *Eſau* wanted, they ſay; If he had any Divine mark upon him (beſides the Contingency of his Birth) that deſign'd him & mark'd him for a King, beſides *Roman* Zeal, there would be ſome Conſequence in his Diſcourſe, and this would be the beſt Argument that he hath yet us'd, (though the King would be little beholden to him for it:) But where God doth not interpoſe by expreſs Revelation, Humane Affairs, Concerns and Intereſts of all ſorts, muſt be Governed and Ruled by the Laws, Orders and Decrees of the reſpective Governments. I would not have been ſo long in animadverting upon this laſt paſſage, but that I think our Conſiderer hath taken into his aſſiſtance in theſe Conſiderations ſome Divine, by his abounding ſo much in Scriptural Allegations: And that hereby you may ſee the Size of the reſt of the men of that Order, that are Chaplains to the Cauſe of the Succeſſion, and that they ought to be of little regard in this matter, as they deſerve none; it being not in their

way: though in matters that belong properly to their Function, they may deserve much who are of the meanest of that Order.

Our Gentleman next proceeds to his political Arguments; but those can be answered, I perswade my self, by every man who hath heard of the Plot. Though a man of his Size may frame puzzling Arguments that may perplex mens Minds with scruples and doubts; which a Fool may do, and a Wise man cannot remove; yet it is scarce possible for him to deprive men of their Senses, and make them insensible to all the Evils that they hear, see, and feel, and justly fear. If the Protestants are not (as he saith) very strong abroad, we have reason to be more united at home, and united by the awful Authority of a Law. If we are threatned with a great power of the *Roman* Religion from abroad, (which he affrights us with) we have no reason to retain the biggest power to hurt us within our own Bowels. But if it be in the power of such bad men as this Pretender to divide by slights and wiles the good People of *England*, and keep them from uniting in the onely means of their safety, we must perish: But Wo be to them by whom we are thus destroyed.

His last effort upon the minds of the People is to intimidate them, that by their fears they may fall under the evils they design upon us: he scatters his menaces, as if he were in the place of God against us, and as if he had the executing of

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the Plot in his Power, and tells us of ſins that fit us for ruine. It is convenient to theſe Plotters to imagine us mighty wicked, that they may believe we deſerve the Vengeance they deſign. Our Government it ſelf, our Laws, our Religion muſt become wicked, when they arrive to a probable power to hurt us: They never contrive a Gunpowder Plot, a Maſſacre, or burning a City, but they dream the iniquity of the People is grown ripe; They would turn us into *Sodom* and *Gomorrha* (which this Conſiderer frights us with) if they could call for Fire from Heaven; and then publiſh us to all the world (if we were much better than we are) to be as wicked as the Cities of the Plain. If we cannot obtain this Bill, I ſhall then begin to think, that the Decree is gone forth, and our Fate is approaching, and that God will let theſe Villains have their will over us. By Gods diſpleaſure, not theirs, I ſhall take the true meaſures of our Sins; His diſpleaſure will be remarkable and evident, if he ſeems to deny us the means of our Safety and Preſervation, and which is the onely means of the Kings Salvation from their Traiterous deſign. If this Bill do not paſs, they will take him for a wicked King too; and they will ſay, he hath no lawful Iſſue to ſucceed him, for his own ſins (though our Conſiderer ſaith at preſent, that our Sins are the cauſe of it) and many other remarks of wickedneſs they will make upon him, when they find it convenient and for their intereſt to deſtroy him;

him; at best he will be then but Tenant at Will to them, of his Life, as well as his Crown, which this Considerer most slanderously chargeth to be designed by us: but if he will follow the counsel of that excellent Bill, he may live long, and see good days, and peace upon our *Israel*; to which let all good people say, *AMEN.*

I shall onely remark two or three things in the close of the Paper of *Weighty Considerations*. First, that he undertakes to say and affirm, that the King is as much subject to the Power of the Parliament as the Duke; which doth dethrone the King himself, and lessens him to the degree of a Subject. Secondly, that in this his Address he perswades the King to rend the Government, to lay aside the Commons of *England*, and abandon them as Rebels; to divide from them, and govern by a House of Lords and Privy Council. And thirdly, that the most venerable and Loyal Parliament that ever was conven'd in this Nation, though not so clearly purged from the corrupt Villains of the late long Parliament, as the next we hope will be, are charged by him to follow the Anarchical Encroachments of the Factions in the Rump-Parliament; by which he insinuates that we must become Papists, admit of a Popish Successor, or be used as Rebels and Traitors: by these three Remarks it is evident, what Principles and Designs these men are of, that oppose the Dukes Bill; and from thence you may find reason to assist it, and promote it with

with the greatest unanimity and resolution; and the rather, for that the Duke himself cannot want Considerations to dispose him to approve of it.

For what should he do with a Crown that he cannot wear? Why should he accept of a trust that he cannot discharge, and a Government that his Principles oblige him to transfer to a Forein Prince? he is too generous a Prince to enter upon a Province onely to betray it.

He is a Prince of great Charity: it was that surely mov'd him publickly to confess the *Roman* Religion, that he might thereby recommend that Religion to our belief, for the better reforming us from Heresie: Why then should not the same Charity move him to renounce the Government, lest he should offer an irresistable temptation to the People to a Rebellion? a greater sin accounted by a King, though a Catholick, (however the Priests rate it) than an errour in belief.

But how can we imagine that he will condescend to be our King? He doth not intend to accept of our Oaths of Allegiance, and had rather not be King, than we should be his Subjects upon those terms. Why should we trouble him with the name of King, reproach him, call him Apostate, Heretick, and Infidel, by swearing our selves his Subjects in the terms of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy? Pray think no more of it, write no more *Great and Weighty Considerations*; for he intends to be no more your King, than

than he doth to desert his Religion and the *Roman* Catholick Faith.

Besides, his Zeal and Services, and the Difficulties that he hath undergone for that Church, and the hazards he hath incur'd, deserve the best Place, and highest Office in that Church, which is that of a Priest; he ought not to be put off, and meanly rewarded with the Sheriffalties, which their Eminencies of the Conclave despise, and be prefer'd to all the Drudgeries and Cruelties that the Priesthood of that Church require of the Kings of that Communion that become Zealots.

He is a Prince that can deliberate and consider, and will conclude, that it is better for him to betake himself to a Monastery now, before he hath filled the Land with Blood and Slaughter, and all the mischiefs that the hellish Plot designs upon us, than to take Sanctuary in one hereafter, loaded with the melancholy considerations of a lost design, and intolerable guilt, if he himself should chance to survive, and not perish ingloriously in the enterprize, never to be gathered to his Fathers, and shut out of the Sepulchres of Kings.

He is a great lover of his Brother, as he ought in gratitude to be, who lets him live, and in his good opinion too, after he had departed from his Allegiance, and become a Member of another Hostile Polity and Regimen, and after, in consequence thereof, the King's Life is brought in conspicuous danger: Besides, that it was natu-

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al and neceſſary that attempts upon the Life of the King ſhould enſue upon his publick declaration of himſelf to be a Papiſt. And we cannot, without thinking too meanly of him, think him without a foreſight thereof: there remains therefore no way for him to avoid the guilt of his Brother's Murder, (we tremble at the probability of it) than by renouncing the Crown. The King cannot in probability die before him, except he falls to the Intereſt of that Religion which his Highneſs doth profeſs. So that the Duke will relinquiſh nothing by the conſenting to the Bill, but the hopes to ſucceed upon his Brother's Murder; but he would not the one (ſo virtuous we will think him) to obtain the other.

Admit him to be King, he muſt be a King without Subjects; for he muſt be a Slave to one part of the people to deſtroy the other: theſe may not be, the other will not be his Subjects.

To be an open Enemy is more Princely, than to ſubmit to the ſordid methods of Falſhood and Treachery, than to betray us and deceive us in the confidence we juſtly ſhould have in him, if he ſhould ſucceed to the Crown by a legal appointment. He hath already departed from the Government, which is Treaſon in a common perſon; but we will give it in him an honeſter name, and call him onely an Enemy to our State and Religion, and his departure to be an overt declaration of Hoſtility; let him therefore be conſiſtent

fiſtent with himſelf, purchaſe the Government by Conqueſt, by the aſſiſtance of the Arms of *France*, his Popiſh Adherents, and home-bred Traitors. But let him not aſſume the Crown by Title and Succeſſion, under obligations to govern by Law, and to preſerve us in our Religion, which is our Legal Right, and more precious to us than any thing elſe the Law entitles us unto. Let him not add falſhood to his miſtaken and cruel zeal, and do all the miſchiefs the Plot deſigns, while he pretends to Govern. Let him openly aſſault us Miſcreants, ſubdue us Infidels, that already ſtand Curſed and Excommunicated, whom he hath Warrant enough from his Religion to deſtroy with an utter deſtruction.

He is an excellent Son of King *Charles* the Firſt, of bleſſed Memory, who died a Martyr for the Government of Church and State, and loſt his Life as well as his Government, when he could not preſerve it any longer by his Sword; And do you think that *James* his Son, who carries the Royal Name of his Grandfather, though the firſt of *England*, yet the Sixth of that Name in *Scotland*, will ſuffer the Government to be altered, and to be a King and no King? It is more juſt for him to chuſe an Excluſion from the Succeſſion, than to ſuffer the Government to be changed; we muſt therefore ſuppoſe him to be willing rather to conſent to the Bill and renounce the Succeſſion, conformably to the recent example of his never-to-be-forgotten Father, than

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to consent to, or be bound by any Act of Parliament that shall alter the Government: They are not his Friends, nor agreeable to him, that would spoil the Government, more valuable in his esteem (as well as his Father's) than a personal Reign: That would make him a King in mockery; That conspire against the Government it self, which he will not, he ought not to sustain and endure, as long as there is any Iron and Steel in the hands, or Blood in the Veins of Loyal *Roman* Catholicks.

He is an equal Prince, and will not take it so much to Heart, that he sees the People of his Nativity not stupid Sots, but that they can be sensible of the dangers that he urgeth them with, and provide apt remedies against the evils which threaten us.

But if these Reasons will not obtain his express Consent to that Law for his Exclusion, they will be allowed Inducements sufficient enough to pass it and conclude his Assent; for the nature of a Law is, to be first reasonable, and to make those willing that should be consenting to it as reasonable and fit, but are not, and to render them obedient and submitted: For this is one of the greatest benefits of Government, that they that cannot or will not chuse what is best for themselves, the

Laws

Laws will chuſe for them, with regard to the Publick Good.

For the better clearing the matter of the Conſtitutions of this Realm, in relation to the Succeſſion, I thought it neceſſary to add the ſubſtance of an Act of Parliament yet in force, made 13 *Elizabethæ.*

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13 Eliza-

13 Elizebthæ Cap. 1.

An Act whereby certain Offences are made Treason.

FOrasmuch as it is of some doubted, whether the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, remaining at this present in force, are valiable and sufficient enough for the surety and preservation of the Queens most Royal Person, in whom consisteth all the happiness and comfort of the whole State and Subjects of the Realm: Which thing all Faithful, Loving, and Dutiful Subjects ought and will with all careful study and zeal consider, foresee, and provide for; By the neglecting and passing over whereof with winking Eyes, there might happen to grow the subversion and ruine of the quiet and most happy State and present Government of this Realm (which God defend.) Therefore, &c. to Declare, &c. during her Majesties life, that the Right of the Crown was in any other Person, should be Treason. And such Person that should, during her Majesties Life, Usurp the Crown, or the Royal Stile, Title, or Dignity of the Crown or

Realm of England, &c. they, and every of them so offending, shall be utterly disabled, during their natural Lives openly, to have or enjoy the Crown or Realm of England, or the Style, Title, or Dignity thereof, at any time in Succession, Inheritance, or otherwise, after the Decease of our said Sovereign Lady the Queen, as if such Person were dead: any Law, Custom, Pretence, or matter whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. After which, these words follow.

And be it further Enacted, That if any Person shall in any wise hold, and affirm or maintain, That the Common Laws of this Realm, not altered by Parliament, ought not to direct the Right of the Crown of England; Or, that our said Soveraign Lady, the Queens Majesty that now is, with and by the Authority of the Parliament of England is not able to make Laws and Statutes of sufficient Force and Validity to limit and bind the Crown of this Realm, and the Discent, Limitation, Inheritance, and Government thereof: Or, that this present Statute, or any part thereof, or any other Statute to be made by the Authority of the Parliament of England, with the Royal Assent of our said Soveraign Lady the Queen, for limiting of the Crown, or any Statute for Recognizing the Right of the said Crown and Realm, to be Justly and Lawfully in the most Royal Person of our said Soveraign Lady the Queen, is not, are not, or shall not, or ought not to be for ever of good and sufficient Force and Validity to Binde, Limit, Restrain, and Govern all Persons their Rights and Titles, that in any wise may or might claim any Interest or Possibility in or to the Crown of England, in Possession, Remainder, Inheritance, Succession, or otherwise howsoever: And all other Persons

whatſoever, every ſuch perſon ſo holding, affirming, or maintaining, during the life of the Queens Majeſty, ſhall be adjudged a High Traitor, and ſuffer and forfeit, as in Caſes of High Treaſon is accuſtomed; and every Perſon ſo holding, affirming or maintaining after the Deceaſe of our ſaid Soveraign Lady, ſhall forfeit all his Goods and Chattels.

AN

ANSWER

TO A

BOOK, Publiſhed 1679.

Intituled,

A LETTER

FROM A

GENTLEMAN of Quality

In the COUNTRY, to his Friend, &c.

Relating to the Point of SUCCESSION to the CROWN, &c.

BY ſeveral accidents the former ſheets hav ſtopt in the Preſs, from a few days afte the *Great and Weighty Conſideration* were publiſhed; and being now ready to com forth, we have a Gentleman of Quality, as h calls himſelf, *undertaking from Scripture, La Hiſtory, and Reaſon, to ſhew how improbable (not impoſſible) it is to bar the next Heir in th* righ

ght Line from the Succeſſion, in a Letter to his oured Friend A. B.

And now after ſo long a time of conſideration, one ſhould think the many men of great Parts nd Learning that are dependents on the Duke, irited with zeal and ambition, ſhould have ofred all that they have to ſay againſt the Bill or excluding his Royal Highneſs. And this eing (as may be reaſonably concluded) the laſt ndeavours of the moſt learned and beſt parted men of that Intereſt; This Letter for that reaſon onely, but not for any thing of moment that t offers, deſerves to be conſidered.

We will not follow him from Paragraph to Paragraph, ſince the greateſt part of it is vain nd empty, pedantick, bombaſt, and putid affectation.

I ſhall onely draw you up ſhort Summaries of his ſeveral Reaſons, and give them all the advantages they can challenge, and improve them by juſt and natural Inferences: And that I think will be enough of confutation, and a ſufficient countercharm againſt his deceiving the People.

He firſt lays down for a Ground, That the Succeſſion to the Crown of *England* is inſeparable annexed to Proximity and nextneſs of Bloud, by the Laws of God and Nature; And all Statute-Laws contrary to the Laws of God and Nature, are, *ipſo facto*, null and void.

That it is contrary to the Laws of God, he

proves by the Law of God given by *Moses* to the *Jews* in the 7th of *Numbers*, that directs how the Succession of Lands should be amongst the *Jews*; and whatsoever Statute-Laws are contrary to those Laws are null and void, he saith.

The consequence of this Argument is this: That the Laws given by God to the *Jews* are Laws to all Mankind: That our common-Law and Statute-Law is against the Law of God, and null and void, because not agreeable to the Law of *Moses*: That the eldest Son is not to take by Descent the whole inheritance, but a double portion onely, and that the Crown must be disposed of in Descents accordingly: That not the first Son only, and one Daughter, but all the Daughters of a King, if never so many, must succeed together to the Crown: That no Father can sell his Patrimony; for that was the Jewish Law, and established in that Chapter he quotes.

He proves it to be a Law of God further, for that God saith to *Cain* of *Abel*, *That his desires shall be subject, and thou shalt rule over him.*

The consequence of this, is, that because *Cain* could not kill *Abel*, (notwithstaning he was to have the Primacy) That *Abel* much more could not kill *Cain* his Elder Brother.

And further he proves that to be a Law of God, because God maketh choice of the first-born to be Sanctified and Consecrated to himself.

And therefore it most certainly follows, with this Gentlemen, that he which is not the first-born

born must be so too. I wish his Royal Highness, the second born, the Consecration of a Priest; (which the Text means, notwithstanding the Text doth not allow it him) so that he will not pretend to the Consecration of a King, which is clearly out of the meaning of the Text.

He says, Consonant hereunto are the Suffrages of the Doctors of the Civil and Imperial Law. The Consequence of this is, first, That he is not bound to be coherent to himself; for he was before proving the Law of God to be, That the Succession of the Crown is inseparably annxed to proximity of bloud, and now he tells us of some Opinions of Fathers and Doctors that are consonant thereunto, when they do not at all relate in their Opinions to what he had produced out of *Moses* his Law. Secondly, it follows, that he is impertinently troublesome to his Reader, by telling him of the Opinions of great names in this matter, that the Eldest Son by ordinary right is to have his Fathers Estate in some Countries, or that the Crown doth so ordinarily descend where the Succession is hereditary; he should have spared them for another time, when he shall say something that all mankind doth not agree in. Thirdly, That he is a man of little reading, otherwise he would have been insufferably impertinent by 10000 quotations in this matter. Fourthly, That he is no Civilian? for that in this place he calls the Soveraignity a Fee, when all men agree that a Crown is of that sort of Inheritance, which

they call Allodiums, that are held οὐκ ἀλλ' ὡς Δίος. This would have made a ſwinging Argument for his *Jure Divino*, if he had thought of it, but we will give it them *gratis*. He tells us the Duke of *York* is in the ſame condition as the Eldeſt Son of the King Reigining, though his Brother be King: That the ſeeond Son of a King Regent, when the firſt is dead, living his Father, is within the 25. of *E.* 3. that makes it Treaſon to compaſs the death of the King's Eldeſt Son; and that ſuch Second Son is Prince of *Wales*, and Duke of *Cornwal*.

The Conſequence whereof is, that he very impertinent, or elſe the Duke of *York* is now Prince of *Wales*, and Duke of *Cornwal*, and that he is within the Statute of 25 *Ed.* 3.

This Argument of his he leaves to be further illuſtrated and purſued by the Church-men and Civilians: But leſt they ſhould fail, this Epiſtoler (for I now am well aſſured, that this queſtion and cauſe is to be managed by the Sword, by Maſſacres, and the *French* Plot, and not by Writing) I have adventured, and will proceed to illuſtrate his Arguments, and purſue them into their Conſequences, & leave the Epiſtoler of Quality to be purſued with laughter; for he deſerves no worſe, if it be true that he profeſſeth, that he is a Proteſtant and Lover of the Government.

Now he will, he ſaith, as beſt ſorting with his profeſſion, and with a diſcourſe of the nature, drive proofs from the Authority of the Common

mon and Statute-Law of *England*.

From whence it follows, That the Common-Law and Statute-Laws of *England* are proper to be consulted with, for declaring the Laws of God, and the Laws of Nature; which they never yet pretended to do. And Secondly, it follows from thence, that this Epistoler no more understands the Common and Statute-Laws of *England*, and what places they are to have in the Conduct of our manners, and guidance of our Consciences; than he doth (as appears by what he hath said before) what is the Law of God or Nature.

He lays it down as most evident, *That all the humane Acts and Powers in the World cannot hinder the Discent of the Crown upon the next Heir of the Blood? because (though they may hinder the Possession and Enjoyment of it) This is a Dowry which the great King of Kings hath reserved to his own immidiate Donation, and hath placed above the reach of a mortal Arm; and mankind can no more hinder or intercept it, than it can the Influences of the Stars or the Heavens upon the Sublunary world, or beat down the Moon.*

The Consequence of this is, that the man is Lunatick and of insane memory and hath forgot and denies what in the same breath he affirms: For, he agrees humane Power may hinder the possession and enjoyment, and yet it is no more possible to hinder the Descent, than to stop the Influences of Heaven, and to pull down the Moon. Secondly, It follows, that that which is done is

impossibe to be done. Thirdly, that there is no Right at all by Descent, nor can be any Descent of the Crown; for that it is reserved, as he says, to Gods immediate Donation, And we never yet heard of any immediate Gift or Donation thereof from God. And if the Duke will stay until that be done, we most solemnly declare we will accept him for our King; and he shall be a King to intents and purposes (as he terms it;) we will be kinder and juster to him than his Freinds of the same perswasion with the Epistoler, who will give him the Name and Style, and would Abridge him, as they pretend, of the Power and Authority of a King.

He says further, That when the Duke is King, that the Legiance and Fidelity of the Subject is due to him by the immutable Law of Nature; from whence it clearly follows, that he must stay until that time come: That when he is a Loyal and Foyal King, we are to be Loyal and Foyal Liege-men and Subjects, For *Calvin's* Case which he cites, by the general Opinions of all considerable Lawyers, is Apocryphal, where it makes Allegiance absolute, and more extensive than the Legal Power of Kings. But here he subjoyns such loathsom Pedantry, that I cannot but remark it: He subjoyns to his mention of *Calvin's* Case, that *Aristotle*, Nature's Amanuensis (as he calls him) agrees with that Case, in that he saith, Ἀρχηγὸς πατὴρ ὑῶν φύσει καὶ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευμένων. and *Seneca's Natura commenta est Regem.* But for my promise

miſe ſake, I will make no further Obſervations upon him, than by bare repeating of it to expoſe it.

That the King and his Succeſſors are Kings by Nature, he proves; *For that the Statute Laws do frequently ſtile the King our Natural Liege-Lord: And for further proof tells us, that in Indictments it is ſet forth, that the Treaſon is commited* contra debitum Fidei & Ligeantiæ quod naturaliter & de jure impendere debet: *And the King in Indictments is ſometimes ſtyled Natural Lord.*

Whence it follows, that we are born under Allegiance; that no man that is born under any form of Government can deny Faith unto it, though he never expreſly ſwore Allegiance. That the King of *France* is not our Natural Lord, neither doth the Oath of Allegiance bind us to that Form of Government, if introduced, becauſe the King was born to no ſuch Kingſhip: Nor is our King a Natural Lord to any Forreigners that come hither; and the Form of the Indictment againſt Forreigners, as the Lawyers know, muſt be in another Form. And further it followes, That in all changes of Government, the word natural is to be adjoyned to Allegiance in all Indictments of Treaſon committed againſt the Government in its ſeveral changes that it may ſuffer; And this all the Lawyers with one voice pronounce.

He ſums up all that he hath ſaid before, thus: *No humane Power can hinder the Deſcent of the Crown upon the Right Heir; the Deſcent makes*

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the King, Allegiance is due to the King by the Law of Nature; The Law of Nature cannot be abrogated by humane Power: That Common-Law is more worthy than Statute-Law, and the Law of Nature more worthy than both. But upon better consideration of the whole matter, it follows with better Consequence, That Nature hath made no Laws about Property, nor about Governments; otherwise all Laws of Right and Property, and all Governments would have been the same; for what she makes are Universal, as the Nature of man: Besides that if he knew where she became a Legislatrix, or if this Gentleman could direct us to a veiw of her Pandects, we ought to acoord all our Laws to them. Secondly, That Common-Law is not to be preferred before Statute-Law; For the Judges who declare the Common-Law are not wiser than Parliaments; and the Common-Law appears so bad a Rule, that it requires oftentimes amendment. Thirdly, It follows, that no Legislation is Lawful, for that which is to be preferred is best, and that which is best is to be a Law for ever. Fourthly, That no Allegiance is due to any Prince, but whom the Law appoints, and as the Law appoints: That he that is not King, to him no Allegiance is due. That humane Power is competent enough to alter as well as make any humane Constitution. That which by humane Authority was made, and made also descendible (for all Crowns are not descendible) can be alte-

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red by the ſame Authority in its Diſcent.

The greater part of this enſuing Diſcourſe, is, the remembrance of the Tragedies that have been acted upon the Engliſh Nation by our Kings: For we have not only ſuffered under their bad Government, but they have Uſurpt one upon another, and we have been infinitely miſerable by being drawn into Wars, to diſpute which of them ſhould Govern us after their own manner and faſhion. If this Epiſtoler had had any reguard to mankind, any bowels and commiſeration for the vaſt Miſeries and Calamities which we have ſuffered thereby, except he had depreſſed all mankind ſo far below this Jure-Divinity Head, as if they were no more conſiderable than a ſwarm of Flies, and ought to periſh by Thouſands, to the Pleaſure, Luſt and Ambition of any that is big enough to pretend to a Crown; he had not here talked ſo gloriouſly of the Matter of Succeſſion; he would have put the Crown in Cypreſs, and vail'd its ſplendour with a mourning dreſs; he would not have talked of Pearls and Oriency, (in his fooliſh ſtyle) Jewels and Gems of Magnitude.

But, if they, by Cruelty and Treachery have murdered one another, and uſurpt upon the Legal Right of Succeſſion, and did keep the people in a ſtate of War for Centuries of years; ſhall not we exclude a ſingle Perſon from the Succeſſion, to prevent more and greater Miſeries to be

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executed perhaps in one year upon this poor Nation, than the former Usurpations did produce in Centuries of years?

But let him attempt the Crown, notwithstanding an Act of Parliament for his Exclusion, he is all that while but attempting to make us miserable; if he be not excluded, he doth it certainly: We exclude only his Person, not his Posterity; and we will not entail a War upon the Nation, though for the sake and interest of the Glorious Family of the *Stuarts*.

The next Argument he produceth is this, *viz.* that in Acts of Parliament the Right of Succession is called a Natural Right, and consequently that it is unalterable. The consequence of this Argument is, that a Right by Birth is a natural Right, and that truly; for men are born by nature. Secondly, It follows, that no man hath a natural Right by Birth to the Inheritance of his Father, or that his Father cannot give it from him, or he himself forecloseth himself by Treason and Felony. Or else it follows, that notwithstanding Princes of the Bloud succeed by the right of their Birth, which is a natural Right, or a Right by Nature; they may be set aside, and excluded the Succession to the Crown upon as great reason as we have for this Bill of Exclusion.

His Law-*Farrago* of Statutes that have been adjudged void, because unreasonable and impossible, concludes, that a Statute-Law in a matter

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that is not unreasonable and impossible, is a good and binding Law; and therefore he ought to have a profound veneration and deference to it (in which we use only his own words in this matter, which are the least fooliſh) when it passeth into a Law.

But if he cannot find the reasonableneſs of this Bill, in what we have offered, we may further conclude, that nothing will convince him but French Auxiliaries, and a Stack of Faggots in *Smithfield*. If this Act be impoſſible to be executed, we muſt conclude that it is in the Power of his Party to execute our Laws, Religion, and Government, and to Aſſaſſinate the Nation. We wiſh only, on the behalf of our Religion and Government, that we had as great aſſurance that the Bill would paſs into a Law, as the reaſonableneſs thereof is evident.

But this Epiſtoler (whoſe Province he ſaith is Law) nextly undertakes to ſay, *That the Succeſſion of the Crown to the next Heir of the Bloud, is a Foundamental and Primary Conſtitution of this Realm, and indeed the Baſis and Foundation of all our Laws. The Succeſſion of the Crown to the next Heir of the Bloud, is one of the higheſt, eſſential, and undivided Rights of the Crown. That no Perſon or Community can give away, or transfer, a thing which they never had to give. Of this nature is the Right of Succeſſion to the Crown, which is not the gift of a man, but the immediate Dowry*

(that

(that World he is fond of) *of God, Nature, and the immutable Customs of the State.*

Whence it follows, that God, Nature, and the immutable Customs of State, met together once upon a time about this Matter; or that the immutable Customs of State did sometime consult God and Nature about this matter; and agreed their Sentiments. Or,

God and Nature and immutable Customs of State are all one: That Customs of State are made without People: That Customs of State are as immutable as God and Nature: That God and Nature cannot alter that which is once a Custom: That God cannot be heard, though he interposeth with all the Obligations that he lays upon us to Humanity and Justice, from his own Philanthropy and Justice, to protect the whole Body of an Innocent Nation, from, destroying Zeal and wasting Superstition; nor Nature her self be heard in her close injunctions of self-preservation: But immutable Custom a more powerful Supream, must prevail against God and Nature, though at first they stuck together in making this Primary Constitution the Basis and Foundation of all Laws: for nothing else was certainly in the mind of God and Nature so much, as to set up a Royal Family amongst us a part of Mankind. And to shew a particular kindness to the English People (for he hath not dealt so with every Nation:) That he doth not certainly think us worthy of any

Laws;

Laws, any Lives or Eſtates, if we do not accept of this ſingular favour, nor if we do accept, wo worth us miſerable people. But Laws, it ſeems, we can have none without it; for that's the true Baſis and Foundation (ſaith he) of all Laws. And this follows with good reaſon; for the Succeſſion of the Crown to the next of Bloud, is one of the higheſt, moſt eſſential, and undivided Rights of the Crown: for it is clear we muſt loſe our preſent King, and he be divided from his Life and Crown, rather then the Succeſſion be devided from the next of Bloud; and after that, what matters it what becomes of the People, of no regard certainly, of no regard at all, nor to be conſidered, where the Rights or pretences of Kings are concerned.

And further, becauſe Kings cannot alienate the Crown, which doth not lie in Dominion, but in Truth: not in Property, but in care; for *Officium eſt imperare, non regnum*: And becauſe that people cannot be ſold like Droves of Cattle: therefore it is with clear and irrefragable reaſon inſer'd by this Letter-writer, That the King muſt not live; that he cannot remove an irreſiſtible temptation againſt his own Life: And we muſt receive a King that hath devoted us a fat Sacrifice to his cruel Superſtition, as his party hath our King, that they may more eaſily come at us.

Lastly, he saith, *That the right Heir of the Crown cannot be bar'd or excluded by Act of Parliament; because the Accession and Descent of the Crown in an instant absolutely purgeth and discharg-eth all Obstructions and Incapacities whatsoever, created by the same Act of Parliament.*

From whence it followes, that the Earl of *Danby*, if he were next Heir, might succeed, if he should be attained of Treason of State by Parliament; wheras if the King cannot pardon him, as he cannot, he could not in that case of the descent of the Crown pardon himself. The Heir of the Crown attainted, upon the devolving of the Crown upon him, is therefore purged from the Attainder, because he can pardon himself, and is intended to do so; but a Treason of State can never be pardoned by the King. Our young Lawyer knows well enough, that an incapacity by Act of Parliament to execute an Office growing upon a moral disability of executing the trust of that Office, is not in the Kings power to pardon. Secondly, from hence it follows, that that Attainder which leaves a capacity to obtain a Pardon of the King, doth not at all differ from an Attainder that excludes all capacity from the King to pardon, and which in the Constitution of the Government he hath no power to pardon; such are all Treasons of State where the King is not the *Pars læsa*, and where it is not a private wrong, a single crime, but the at-

attempt is upon the whole Government. Thirdly, hence it clearly follows, that he that is no King, and upon whom the Crown can never descend, (as it will not if this Bill passeth into an Act) he being without the Imperial Crown, without right, and without possession of it, is yet a King. That there is no difference between an Act of Parliament which leaves the Successor to a possibility of being purged from the Attainder it makes; and that Act of Parliament which leaves no such possibility, qut doth most absolutely and expresly exclude him.

His Positions must therefore be false, and his Arguments not concluding, from which such notorious falshoods and absurdities are naturally inferd.

Instead of further argument, he tells us a matter of Fact, *of an Act of Parliament made* 28 H. 8. cap. 7. *to render Queen* Elizabeth *incapable of Succession: And that she notwithstanding got into the Throne: And that Sir* Nicholas Bacon (*who had consulted the Judges*) *told the Queen, that there needed no formal Repeal of the said Act; for that* Corona semel suscepta, omnes omnino defectus tollit.

The Consequence of this is, that if the Duke can, notwithstanding an Act for his Exclusion, get into the Throne, he will; and so let him. Secondly,

condly, that a King *de facto*, though a bad one, is not to be removed at the expence of a Civil War; that it is madneſs to part with a good one, when in poſſeſſion, and cruelty to the People.

Detrahere Dominum urbi ſervire parata.

But afterwards in the 35 of *Hen.* the Eighth, the Crown was limited by Act of Parliament. in caſe the King and Prince *Edward* ſhould die without Heirs of ether of their Bodies, to the Lady *Mary* and the Heirs of her body; and for want of ſuch Heir, to the Lady *Elizabeth* and the Heirs of her body.

We are no ways concerned in the juſtification of our Bill, to approve of the humorous Caprice of *Henry* the Eighth, and the arbitrary Laws that he made in his time about the Succeſſion: they are inſtances of his haughty Government, that he impoſed upon Parliaments, and that he took the Crown to be at his diſpoſe, and transferrable at his pleaſure, as his Money and Lands: a great indignity to Mankind, and an injury to the nature of Government! But that the Succeſſion of the Crown is the right of the whole Community, their Appointment, their Conſtitution, and Creature in Parliament, and alterable as far the Bill deſigns, and for ſuch reaſons as preſſeth and urgeth in the Caſe of the Duke. Whether this, I ſay, is not to ſatisfaction proved in theſe Sheets;

Sheets; and whether this Epiſtoler hath produced any ſhadow of Reaſon to prove the contrary, let the World judge: And whether he hath given us any thing for reaſon, but the inſignificant bluſter of Words, canting Language, and pedantick Nonſence, which will never paſs with any man of the leaſt ſpark of ſence for Argument.

Neither do we place the Right of Succeſſion to Government in the ſame rank with private Inheritances; nor ever were they governed in any Country by the ſame Rules; though this Epiſtoler hath produced the Laws of God by *Moſes* to the *Jews* (which was only to govern private Inheritances amongſt them) to prove the unalterable Succeſſion of the Crown amongſt us: which is ſo wild an impertinence, wherewtih he begins his Letter, that he will be aſhamed of it when he reviews it, and conceal his name for ever with care.

That there is one Rule for the Succeſſion of the Crown, and another for the Succeſſion of private Eſtates, is from theſe Reaſon; That private Inheritances are diſpoſed of in Succeſſion, according to the preſumed Will of the *Decedent*, which is collected from the general Opinion and Practice of the people in diſpoſing of their Eſtates by Settlements; or by their Wills and Teſtaments, in caſe of Allodiums: or elſe the Succeſſion goes according to the direction and

limitation of the Lord made in the first collation of the Fee in case of Fees. But the Descent and Succession of the Crown is governed and directed by the presumed Will of the People: and that presumption of the Peoples Will is made by measuring and considering what is most expedient to the publick good, or by the express limitation of the People in their conferring the Royal Dignity. In Allodiums, in defect of Heirs, the Inheritance belongs to the Soveraign Power, as a thing that is *Nullius in bonis*, and hath no owner. In Fees, when the Family is extinct it Escheats to the Lord of the Fee.

In Crowns, upon the extinction of the Royal Family, it belongs to the People to make a new King, under what limitations they please, or to make none, for the Polity is not destroyed if there be no King appointed: and consequently in case of this cesser or discontinuance of the *Regnum*, there may be Treason committed against the people.

That the Succession of the Crown is directed according to the presumed Will of the People, and collected from what is most expedient gives us the reason why one Daughter or Female of the next degree shall succeed to the Crown, and not all, if more than one; whereas a private Inheritance is equally divided amongst them all: For it is the Interest, and therefore the presumed Will of the People, that the Kingdom should continue undi-

undivided. The ſtrength of the Kingdom is preſerved in being continued united, and the Peace and Concord of the People thereby eſtabled.

That a Son by the Second *Venter* ſhall ſucceed to the Crown, which is not allowed in private Eſtates, is, becauſe one ſo born is equally of the Family of his Father; and the expectation of the people as great from him, being deſcended from that glorious Perſon upon whom the Crown was conferred by the people, or who after he had got into the Throne, obtained the ſubmiſſions of the People. The ſame reaſon admits an Alien born, though he be eſtranged from us by his Birth.

Eſt in Juvencis, eſt in equis patrum vertus.

Though what I have ſaid in this matter, is ſo obvious, that no conſidering man can eſcape theſe thoughts, yet I cannot think it impertinent to add it here, to clear what I have laid down in the precedent Sheets, as an undoubted truth, and evident in it ſelf; *That the Succeſſion to the Crown is the peoples Right.* But there is nothing, I perceive, to be allowed clear and evident, when we live in an Age wherein Fools and moſt ignorant perſons will undertake, by the Liberty of the Preſs, to print and publiſh to the world their crude thoughts, and with great aſſurance offer their uncouth Opinions with aſtoniſhing preſumption

ption. Besides to the reasonableness of this Doctrine, it is agreeable to the Illustrious *Grotius*, *De Jure Belli & Pacis*, Lib. 2. cap. 7.

And nothing follows from his collected Law-cases about the different Rules of Succession of the Crown from private Fees, but that he is a very young Lawyer, or an old senseless Jobber of Law-Cases.

But I hope that all men that read him, will with resentment think themselves used with scorn, when they see what frivolous Fellows attempt upon them to deceive them; and will be fully convinced, that the Bill is reasonable, just, and fit, since they have nothing better to object against it.

The last endeavour of the Epistoler is to remove the Authority of Parliaments, and the Act made in the Thirteenth of Queen *Elizabeth*. The words of which are printed at the close of the Papers against the man of *Great and Weighty Considerations*. Our case is not in its reasons unparallel to those that introduced that Law, and occasioned the making of that Declaration; but whatever was the particular Reason, the Declaration of that Parliament in that Act is general, and therefore it is an Authority not to be impeached, to prove that there is such a power to alter the Succession of the Crown, for great Ends, and weighty Reasons, and just Causes. Besides, that such a power is lodged in the Parliament, is clearly proved by us from the nature of Government

ment, in the foregoing Sheets: As alſo, that ſuch a power will not be abuſed by uſing it in this Bill of Excluſion, of which I hope no body upon the reading of them will retain any longer any manner of doubt. But I cannot, before I have done, but take notice of his little Artifice. in that he doth ſuggeſt, that by the Act of Parliament of the Thirteenth of Queen *Elizabeth*, *cap.* 1. the Title of the Family of *Stuarts* is excluded; when it is evident by the words of the Act, that the Diſability there enacted is only perſonal. And his ſtory of Monſieur the Duke of *Anjou* deſigning then to marry the Queen, is a falſe and malicious inſinuation, to hurt the memory of that excellent Princeſs. And conſequently, that King *James* and his Race had, and have, notwithſtanding the validity of that Act, a good Title to the Crown: And that the validity of that Act may be maintained, without derogation and injury to his Majeſties ſacred Title, whom God long preſerve.

A short Historical Collection touching the SUCCESSION *of the* CROWN.

WHether the History of the Succession of the Crown will allow so good and clear an Hereditary Right, *Jure humano*, as we have yielded in the precedent discourse, the Reader will best judge by the short Historical Collection touching the Succession hereto subjoyned.

In the Heptarchy there was no fit Hereditary Right, one King tripping up the heels of another, as he had power, till one got all.

After that, *Alfred*, Bastard-son to *Oswin*: *Adelstane* Bastard-son of *Edward* the Elder: *Edmund*, Surnamed the *Martyr*, Bastard-son to King *Edgar*: *Harold*, Surnamed *Harefoot*, Bastard-son to *Canute*, wore the Imperial Crown of *England*.

But a Law was made under the *Saxon* Monarchy, *De Ordinatione Regum*, directing the Election of Kings, and prohibiting Bastards to be chosen.

Edward the Confessor was no King *Jure Hæreditario*; but the right was most indisputable at first in *Edward* Son of *Edmond Ironside*, Father to *Edgar Etheling* his Nephew, during his life; and after his decease, in that *Edgar*, who was Nephew also to the Confessor.

William

William the First, called the Conquerour, was a Bastard, and had no right but from his Sword, and the Peoples Submissions, and their Electing him.

William Rufus was elected against the right of his Elder Brother *Robert* then living.

Henry the First was made King, *favente Clero & Populo*, his Brother *Robert* still living, whose Eyes were after put out at *Cardiff*-Castle in *Wales*.

King *Stephen* was elected *a Clero & Populo*, and confirmed by the Pope, and *Maud* Daughter of *Henry* the First excluded.

Henry the Second came in by consent, yet he had no Hereditary right; for his Mother *Maud* the Empress, Daughter and Heir to *Henry* the First, was then living.

King *John* had an elder Brother *Jeoffery* Earl of *Britany*, who had Issue *Arthur* and *Elianor*, which ought to have succeeded before him; but he *Arthur* his Eldest Brother's Son living, was elected *a Clero & Populo*; and being divorced from his Wife, by his new Queen had *Henry* the Third.

Henry the Third was confirmed and setled in the Kingdom by the general Election of the people; *Elianor*, Daughter to *Jeoffery* the elder Brother, still living.

Roger Mortimer Earl of *March*, Son of *Edmund* by *Philippa* Daughter and Heir of *Lionel* Duke *Clarence*, a younger Son of *Edward* the Third, was

was in the Parliament 9 *R.* 2. declared Heir Apparent of the Crown: which could not be but by force of an Act of Parliament.

Henry the Fourth came to the Crown by way of Election; and in his time, *viz.* in the eighth year of his Reign, was the first Act of Parliament made for Entailing the Crown with Remainders.

By vertue of which, his Son *Henry* the Fifth became King, and after him *Henry* the Sixth.

In *Henry* the Sixth his time, *Richard* Duke of *York* claimed the Crown: and an Act of Parliament was made 39 *H.* 6. that *Henry* the Sixth should enjoy the Crown for his life, and the said Duke and his Heirs after him. After which, King *Henry* raises an Army by the assistance of the Queen and Prince, and at *Wakefield* in Battle kills the Duke; for which, 1 *Edw.* 4. they were all by Act of Parliament, attainted of Treason; and one principal reason thereof was, for that the Duke being declared Heir to the Crown after *Henry* by Act of Parliament, they had kill'd him: which Act of Attainder was 1 *H.* 7. repealed, and the Blood of the King, Queen, and Prince restored, in terms of disgrace and detestation of so barbarous an Attainder, *Rot. Parl. Anno* 1 H. 7.

Edward the Fourth succeeds upon the death of *H.* 6. by vertue of an Act of Parliament made in the time of *H.* 6. for entailing the Crown as Son and Heir to the Duke of *York*.

Edward the Fifth succeeded by vertue of the same Act of Entail. *Ri-*

Richard the Third having got the Crown, he was confirmed King by Act of Parliament; which likewise Entail'd the Crown: which was done upon two reasons pretended: First, for that by reason of a precontract of *Edward* the Fourth, *Edward* the Fifth his eldest Son, and all his other Children, were declared Bastards. Secondly, for that the Son of the Duke of *Clarence*, second Brother to *Edward* the Fourth, had no right, because the Duke was attainted of Treason by a Parliament of *Edward* the Fourth. The Act of Parliament for Bastardizing the Children of *Edward* the Fourth, was in force until repealed in the time of *Henry* the Seventh, after his Marriage with *Elizabeth* the Daughter of *Edward* the Fourth.

Henry the Seventh comes in by no legal Title: First, because *Edw.* 4th his Daughter was then living. Secondly, his own Mother was then living. In his first Parliament the Crown was Entail'd upon him and the Heirs of his body. And observable it is, that after the death of *Elizabeth* his Queen, Daughter and Heir to *Ed.* 4th. there is no notice taken of any right which was pretended to by *Hen.* 8. during his Fathir's life, as being Son and Heir of his Mother, who had the legal Right to the Crown by an ordinary right of Succession.

Henry the Eighth Succeeded, who did (as all his Laws speak) derive his Title to the Crown by the Fathers side, and not by the Mothers. In his

his Reign the Crown was Entail'd thrice by Act of Parliament, Confirm'd by the general Oaths both of the Spiritualty and the Laity; and it was made High Treason to refuse such Oaths; and several Attainders were in his time by particular Acts of parliament of several persons who opposed such limitations of the Crown, and the authority of the Laws that made them.

But the great Law of the three was made in the 35th year of his Reign, *Cap.* 1. whereby power was given him to give and dispose by his Letters Patents, or by Will, the Imperial Crown of the Realm, to remain and come after his death, for want of lawful Heirs of Prince *Edward*, the Lady *Mary*, and the Lady *Elizabeth* to such person or persons, in remainder or reversion, as should please his Highness. In which Act there was a Clause, that made it high Treason to speak or write against that Act, or to go about to annul or repeal it. Besides, there is another Proviso in that Act, That if the Lady *Mary* should not keep such conditions which the King should declare by his Letters Patents or last Will, the Imperial Crown should come to the Lady *Elizabeth*: And if the Lady *Elizabeth* should not observe the same, then the Crown was to go to such person as the King by his Letters Patents, or last Will, should limit and appoint.

By virtue of which limitation in the Act of Parliament afore-mentioned, *Edward* the Sixth succeeded to the Crown, and after him Queen *Mary*:

Mary: in whose Reign, in an Act of Parliament for Conformation of the Articles of Marriage between her and *Philip* of *Spain*, the Crown was again Entail'd; but she dying without Issue, the Lady *Elizabeth* became Queen, who had been declared a Bastard (as well as her Sister *Mary*) in the life of their Father; and therefore succeeded to the Crown by force of the Entail made in the 35 *H.* 8. *Cap.* 1.

Pursuant to these Presidents in fact, in the 13. year of the Reign of Q. *Eliz.* an Act of Parliament was made, declaratory of the power of Parliament in the limitation of the Succession, which made it highly penal to deny the Authority of an Act of Parliament for the limitation of the Crown. Several persons in her time were proceeded against upon that Act, and had the Judgement of Traytor, and as Traitors executed for being contrary to that Law.

This Queen dying, King *James* succeeded, who was (as the Statute of Recognition made in Parliament the first year of his Reign, declares) lineally, rightfully, descended of the most excellent Lady *Margaret* eldest Daughter of the most renowned *Henry* the 7th, and the high and Noble Princess Queen *Elizabeth* his Wife, eldest Daughter of King *Edward* the 4th, the said Lady *Margaret* being eldest Sister of King *Henry* the 8th, Father of the High and mighty Princes of famous memory *Elizabeth* late Queen of *England*.

It is further observable, that upon the Marriage

age of Queen *Mary* to King *Philip* of *Spain*, both the Crowns of *England* and *Spain* were entailed; whereby it was provided, that of the several Children to be begotten upon the Queen, one was to have the Crown of *England*, another *Spain*, another the *Low Countries*: The Articles of Marriage to this purpose were confirmed by Act of Parliament and the Pope's Bull.

And by that Act of Parliament for confirming the Articles of Marriage, *Philip* was created King, and did exercise Soveraign Authority, and particularly in making Laws together with the Queen: the Stile of the Soveraign Assent to Bills in Parliament in their time being, *Le Roy & la Roigne les veulent.*

And likewise for that it was agreed by the States of both Kingdomes, and the *Low Countries*; it is therefore probable, that it was the Universal opinion of the great men of that Age, That Kings and Soveraign Princes, by and with the consent of their States, had a power to alter and bind the Succession of the Crown.

FINIS.